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AN ILLUSTRATED CHAPTER OF BEGINNINGS

THE FOUNDER, PRESIDENTS, HOMES, AND TREASURES
OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FEW subjects as important are less familiar to the average American citizen of to-day than the origin and development of historical societies in this country. These peculiar institutions have multiplied with marvelous rapidity during the past few years, and now exist in nearly every State and chief city of the Union, in many of the counties and towns, at the principal seats of learning, in the colleges and some of the schools, and in clubs and social circles throughout the land. Yet how many are there in any of our intelligent communities who can define the source from which they originally sprung? It is well known that the awakening of general interest in historic inquiry is of comparatively recent date. Formerly, men only of exceptional learning and large wealth worked, or could afford to work, for the preservation of historic material. Whatever was rich and rare and delightful fell into the superb collections of the few. The general public were treated to the crumbs, and professional writers, without time or opportunity for research, went on from year to year repeating each other's errors, and furnishing misinformation greatly in excess of the demand. But the movement of the human mind, taken collectively, is invariably toward something better. The gems of private collections gradually drifted into these historical museums, of which the world knew so little, and which, with magnificent accumulations of instructive material, are now made accessible to all students of history. Authors of every grade have thus found their possibilities enlarged, and inspiration has been given to a new race of historians. The present of any period illustrates nothing of its own significance—any more than the individual brick shows the architecture of the house of which it is a part. It has become the fashion to be wise, and yet no wisdom is satisfactory without familiarity with past events. The old-time notion that America has no history worth bothering about disappears in the fresh, clear light. The scholar must understand his own country. There is no longer any pardon for him if he does not. And as to the journalist who would guide

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public opinion, a thorough knowledge of American history has become absolutely essential in discussing the principal topics of the hour. The truth is, and it is more and more appreciated with each rolling year, that no country, however old, presents more of the picturesque and romantic in its background than our own.

It is an interesting and notable fact that these institutions, which have done so much toward educating the public taste, can be traced for their primary impulse and origin to one individual. The world has never heard much of John Pintard, but through his genius and persistence we have a priceless inheritance. He is the acknowledged founder of historical societies in America. He was a bright, handsome, energetic young man of twenty in 1779, a New Yorker by birth, and a French Huguenot by descent, who had enjoyed the special friendship of Dr. Witherspoon at Princeton College, and otherwise secured many distinguished friends. His uncle, Louis Pintard, was commissary for American prisoners during the Revolution, and John was his secretary for three of those exciting years. It was while in this employ that he first became distressed with the want of some repository for the safe preservation of records of passing events. When the war ended, and for two full decades thereafter, he constantly pressed his views concerning this great need upon the attention of others. He was a close student of public men and measures, and in addition to classical acquirements and familiarity with elegant literature, he possessed a rich fund of historical, geographical, legal, and didactic information. One of his eminent contemporaries said: "You could scarcely approach him without having something of Doctor Johnson thrust upon you; he was versed in theological and polemical divinity, and there were periods in his life in which he gave every unappropriated moment to philological inquiry, and it was curious to see him ransacking his formidable pile of dictionaries for radicals and synonyms with an earnestness that would have done honor to the most eminent student in the republic of letters." He was a stirring man and journeyed extensively through the country, and at a time when steam-boats and railroads were unknown. His ideas in regard to the formation of historical societies were never allowed to slumber, but they first took shape and effect in Boston. On the 10th of August, 1789, the celebrated Rev. Jeremy Belknap wrote from Boston to Postmaster-General Hazard in New York, saying: "This day Mr. Pintard called to see me. He says he is an acquaintance of yours, and wants to form a society of antiquaries, etc. He seems to have a literary taste." Postmaster Hazard, in his reply, said: "Mr. Pintard has mentioned to me his thoughts about an American Antiquarian Society. The idea pleases me much. Mr.



John Pintard.

The Founder of Historical Societies in America.

[From a rare print presented to the author by the late Stephen Whitney Phoenix.]

Pintard has recently purchased a large collection (in volumes) relating to the American Revolution. It was made by Dr. Chandler, of Elizabethtown, who was in England all the war. It is valuable, as is Mr. Pintard's library." In the month of October, 1790, Postmaster Hazard wrote again to the great Boston divine: "I like Mr. Pintard's idea of a society of antiquaries, but where will you find a sufficiency of members of suitable abilities and leisure?"

In the spring of 1791 we find a letter from Mr. Pintard himself to Rev. Jeremy Belknap concerning the "proposed institution." He writes that an account will soon be published of the New York Tammany Society. "This

being a strong national society," he goes on to say, "I engrafted an antiquarian scheme of a museum upon it. It makes small progress with a small fund, and may possibly succeed. We have a tolerable collection of pamphlets, mostly modern, with some history, of which I will send you an abstract. If *your* society succeeds, we will open a regular correspondence. If my plan once strikes root it will thrive." The first-fruit of Mr. Pintard's scheme was the Massachusetts Historical Society, organized with

Belknap at its head before the end of the year 1791. New York fell into line thirteen years afterward. To John Pintard is due the honor of originating both of these institutions.

In the intermediate time Pintard explored the wilderness of the West, and studied into the history and habits of the Indians. He also vis-



FEDERAL HALL, WALL STREET.

First Home of New York Historical Society, 1804-1809.

ited New Orleans and published a topographical and medical study of that city. For a short time he edited the New York *Daily Advertiser*, and then engaged in commercial enterprises. He was the first city inspector, appointed in 1804; originated the first savings bank in New York; was conspicuous in the formation of the American Bible Society; was the main-spring in the organization of the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and an efficient auxiliary to De Witt Clinton in the furtherance of his canal policy. But Pintard's greatest achievement was the

New York Historical Society. The first meeting was held on the 20th of November, 1804, in the City Hall, in Wall Street, which resulted in the appointment of a committee to draft a constitution. The second meeting was on the 10th of December, and the constitution was then presented and adopted. The permanent officers were chosen at the third meeting, January 14, 1805.

Judge Egbert Benson was the first president of the institution, and since his time its successive presidents—Gouverneur Morris, De Witt Clinton, Dr. David Hosack, Chancellor Kent, Morgan Lewis, Peter Gerard Stuyvesant, Peter Augustus Jay, Albert Gallatin, Luther Bradish, Rev. Dr. De Witt, Hamilton Fish, Augustus Schell, Frederick De Peyster, and Benjamin H. Field—have been nearly all men of national reputation. From the beginning the society, in its membership, represented the best scholarship of the country and the age. Its influence became a power, and its example contagious. Special committees were appointed to further the studies of zoölogy, botany, mineralogy, philosophy, and other branches of learning, that ere long developed into separate societies. Art, science, and literature were encouraged and fostered.

Beyond all this, garrets and trunks were ransacked for letters and papers which had been cast aside as worthless, scattered documents were rescued from oblivion, and material of the first consequence concentrated and made available for reference. In their enthusiasm these accomplished men of letters, who had projected the work, were instrumental in directing public attention throughout the land to the preservation of contemporary records as the data from which all future history must receive its correct interpretation, thereby giving life and progression to the great family of historical societies in America.

Although the new society received the name of the sovereign State of



JUDGE EGBERT BENSON,

First President of New York Historical Society, 1804-1816.

[From the celebrated painting by Gilbert Stuart, in 1807, in possession of New York Historical Society.]

New York, and would give its best energies to the rescue of its history from oblivion, its avowed purpose was to collect and preserve whatever might relate to the natural, civil, or ecclesiastical history of the United States in general. Its original founders and promoters, as well as its succession of presidents, deserve more than a passing notice. At the first meeting Judge Benson was conspicuously prominent and the oldest man present. He was in his sixtieth year, honored and beloved. He was a fine English and classical scholar, well versed in Indian lore and Dutch



GOUVERNEUR MORRIS,

Second President of New York Historical Society, 1816.

[From the original painting by Ames, in possession of New York Historical Society.]

history, an author of superior talents, had been a member of the Revolutionary Committee of Safety, held the highest rank in jurisprudence, was the first attorney-general of the State, a member of the first legislature in 1777, a regent of the New York University some thirteen years, and a member of Congress for ten years—a man whose integrity was a proverb.

De Witt Clinton was then mayor of the city. He was only thirty-five, tall, with large, well-proportioned figure, a finely shaped and admirably poised head, beautiful curly chestnut hair, clear hazel eyes, a Grecian nose, and fair complexion. He was everywhere helpful in the formation of the society, as he

predicted it would perform a double service in clearing the way for other herculean enterprises already taking form in his mind. His tastes were literary; he had collected a large and valuable library, and his minerals in after years formed one of the most valuable private cabinets in the United States. He had resigned his seat in the Senate of the nation to accept the mayoralty of New York, and few men were ever more industrious, or applied genius and industry to higher or more important ends. He became the third president of the society, serving two years, from January, 1817, to January, 1820, when he was succeeded by Dr. Hosack.

Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller was the first corresponding secretary, and John

Pintard the first recording secretary. Dr. Miller was thirty-five, the same age as De Witt Clinton, and had already won high reputation as a theological and polemical writer. His *Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*, published in 1803, marks an era in our literature; and according to a British critic, "Its author richly deserves the praises of both hemispheres." He was



DE WITT CLINTON,

Third President of New York Historical Society, 1817-1820.

[From the original painting in the City Hall.]

pastor of a Presbyterian church in New York, from 1793 to 1813, when he became professor of ecclesiastical history and church government in the theological seminary at Princeton. Rev. Dr. John M. Mason, another of the eminent founders of this society, was esteemed the greatest pulpit orator of his time. He was but thirty-four, of noble and peerless bearing and marvelous erudition. Animation of manner, warmth of temperament, vigor of thought, and energy of diction were his special characteristics.

He temporized with no errors, and was intimidated by no obstacles. Through his efforts a theological seminary was established in New York in 1804, of which he was appointed professor. He projected the *Christian's Magazine*, in which he carried on a controversy with Bishop Hobart. Rev. Dr. William Linn, one of the eleven who held the first meeting, was pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church, and distinguished alike for pulpit eloquence and varied scholarship. He was fifty-two, a divine who very greatly interested Washington, and was often invited with his wife familiarly to the dinner table of the first President of the Republic, while the seat of government was in New York city. Rev. Dr. John N. Abeel, another of the eleven, was thirty-five, a polished speaker, magnetic, full of life and vivacity, and the possessor of a voice of great sweetness and melody. He was one who rarely failed to capture the attention of an audience, and his literary attainments were of the highest order.

The first vice-president of the society was Right Reverend Bishop Benjamin Moore, and the second vice-president, Judge Brochholst Livingston. Bishop Moore was then fifty-six. Aside from his clerical duties, he was from 1801 to 1811 the accomplished president of Columbia College. It is said that his style of conferring degrees was most charming. His manners were the perfection of dignity and grace. He was slender in figure and of medium height, with an animated, attractive countenance, a man of great learning and remarkable loveliness of character. Judge Livingston was the son of William Livingston, the famous war governor of New Jersey during the Revolution. He was forty-seven, in the prime of his brilliant judicial career, and a man of broad culture and critical literary ability.

The first standing committee of the institution was Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, Dr. David Hosack, Daniel D. Tompkins, William Johnson, John McKesson, Anthony Bleecker, and Rev. Dr. Mason. Dr. Mitchill was one of the most versatile and remarkable of men. Duyckinck enumerates one hundred and eighty-nine distinct achievements or important acts of his busy life. He was just forty at this eventful period. His public life embraced six or more years as a member of Congress, and he was in the United States Senate from 1804 to 1809; but he found opportunity meanwhile to be of essential service in innumerable ways to New York. His medical career and scientific labors, as well as his political services and contributions to literature, gave him wide fame; he became in course of years an active member of nearly all the learned societies of the world. He was a sort of human dictionary whose opinion was sought by all originators and inventors of every grade throughout his entire generation. His

analysis of the Saratoga waters greatly enhanced the value and importance of those mineral springs. His ingenious theory of the doctrines of septon and septic acid gave impulse to Sir Humphry Davy's vast discoveries; and his essays on pestilence awakened inquiry all over the world. He was



SAMUEL L. MITCHILL, M.D., LL.D.

a polished orator, a versifier and a poet, a man of infinite humor and excellent fancy. His eccentricities furnished material for the wits of the day to fashion many a joke at his expense, over which no one laughed more heartily than himself. He was equally at home in studying the geology of Niagara or the anatomy of an egg, in offering suggestions as to the angle of a windmill or the shape of a gridiron, in deciphering a Babylonian brick

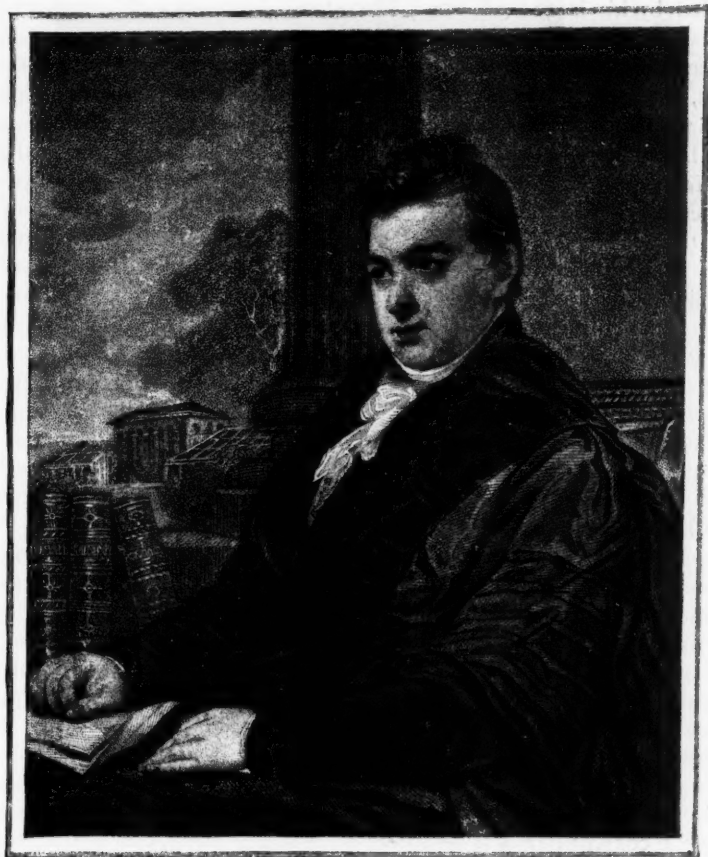


THE ELGIN BOTANICAL GARDEN IN 1825.

Between Fifth and Sixth Avenues and 47th and 51st Streets.

or investigating bivalves and discoursing on conchology, and in advising how to apply steam to navigation or in disputing about the Bible with his neighbor the Jewish Rabbi. He possessed a charm of manner and a magnetism of mind that was unusual; and he did much to advance the public and private interests of America, and elevate our scholastic reputation in foreign countries.

Dr. David Hosack was five years younger than Dr. Mitchell, and none the less far-famed as a physician and author. Quite recently a New York gentleman of hitherto undoubted intelligence, inquired "Who was Dr. Hosack? Did he practice medicine in this city?" There are possibly others among us equally benighted, hence the following brief explanation: Dr. Hosack was born and educated in New York, but had the advantage of medical training in Edinburgh and London under the most celebrated professors of the age. He returned to New York in 1794, bringing the first collection of minerals introduced into America; also duplicate specimens of plants from the herbarium of Linnæus. He founded the Elgin Botanical Garden in 1801, a work of princely munificence, where, amid twenty cultivated acres, he illustrated to his classes in Columbia College the mysteries of the vegetable kingdom—the loves and habits of plants and trees. This garden was located on Murray Hill, covering the ground between Fifth and Sixth avenues, and Forty-seventh and Fifty-first streets. It soon became the resort of the curious, and of many eminent men. Torrey, the great naturalist and public benefactor, was a pupil of Dr. Hosack, as was also Professor Gray. For thirty or more years Dr. Hosack was the leading practitioner in the city, and distinguished above all rivals in the art of healing. It is universally conceded that he was the most eloquent and impressive teacher of scientific medicine and clinical prac-



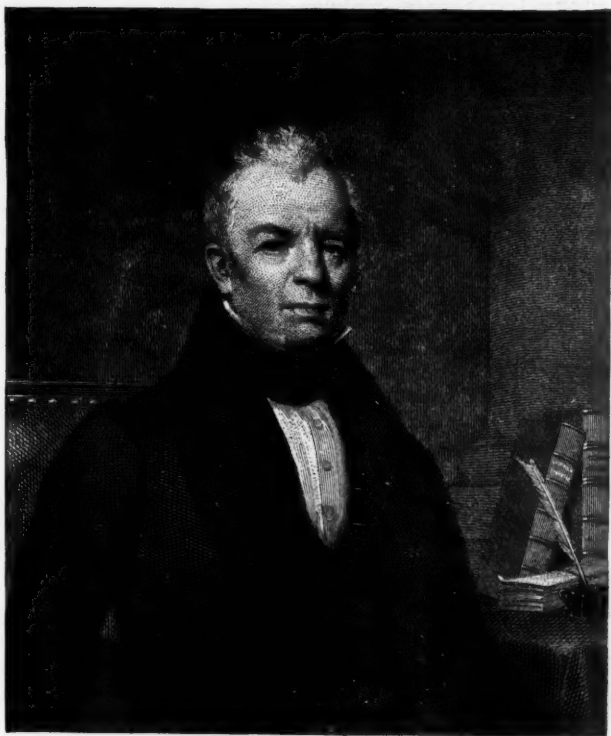
DAVID HOSACK, M.D., F.R.S.,

*Fourth President of New York Historical Society, 1820-1828.**[From the celebrated painting by Sully.]*

tice this country had as yet produced. In all prominent movements connected with the arts, the drama, literature, medicine, city improvements, or State affairs, he bore a conspicuous part. It was frequently remarked at one period in his life-time that "Clinton, Hosack, and Hobart were the tripod upon which the city stood." He was fond of society and exercised a strong personal influence. He gave Saturday evening parties, and, sur-

rounded by his large and costly library and his works of art, there was rarely a more genial and captivating host. Great divines, jurists, statesmen, philosophers, philanthropists, physicians, merchants, scholars, authors, artists, editors, educated men in any specialty, and distinguished foreigners were invited to his entertainments, and went away charmed with his generous hospitality. His house was the resort of the learned and enlightened from every part of the globe. No European traveler of any note was satisfied to visit New York without a personal interview with Dr. Hosack. The Duke of Saxe-Weimar mentions in his diary the social prominence of the Hosack Saturday evenings. When Thomas Sully painted Dr. Hosack's portrait he deftly introduced the celebrated botanical garden into the background, with some of the volumes Dr. Hosack had himself written resting carelessly on the table by his side. The handsome, finely moulded features of Dr. Hosack, as represented by Sully, express singular sweetness of character, and his graceful costume and air of high breeding are most effectively presented. He was one of the original projectors of the Literary and Philosophical Society, besides giving much of his time and talent to historical pursuits. He was the fourth president of the New York Historical Society, from 1820 to 1828.

Anthony Bleecker excelled all others in devotion to the interests of the new institution, and his taste was indispensable in any and every arrangement. He possessed the literary instinct, and was a general favorite with all the men of genius. Daniel D. Tompkins, subsequently for ten years governor of the State, and for eight years Vice-President of the United States, was then a young and very popular man of thirty, of pleasing manners, fine manly presence, and much influence; he had just been appointed associate-justice of the Supreme Court of New York, and his future was full of promise. He was one of Jefferson's most enthusiastic admirers. Among those present at the second meeting of the society, when the constitution was adopted, were Rufus King, the orator, statesman, and diplomatist, who had recently returned from his mission to England, and Rev. John Henry Hobart, subsequently Episcopal bishop of New York, the successor of Bishop Moore. King was in his fiftieth year; Hobart was thirty. King had been one of the framers of the Constitution, and one of the first national senators chosen by New York under the Constitution. Bishop Hobart was, perhaps, the greatest thinker of his generation, and a ready writer and speaker, natural, earnest, bold, effective, the movements of his mind being as rapid as those of his limbs. He was small of stature, dignified and courtly; but he walked in the street as swiftly as if for a wager. He was a handsome man, with a bright, clear,



Samuel McKim

Fifth President of New York Historical Society, 1828-1832.

piercing eye, and a smooth face. He spoke, acted, and bore himself as one having authority, and with the great mass of the clergy his will was law. In the pulpit he was commanding and his voice penetrating, though not strong. His utterances, however, were quick and energetic, and his choice of language elegant, concise and vigorous. His diocese extended upward of three hundred miles from east to west. A broader field of action, and a sway of public sentiment more powerful, have seldom fallen to the lot of any man clad in the robes and bearing the symbols of the prelacy. There was intensity in all his mental and moral characteristics—

a sort of elevated impetuosity running like a chain of fire through mind, heart, and life. He was surrounded by a host of friends and was alive to every social courtesy. He founded the school of theology in 1813 which developed into the Episcopal Theological Seminary in Ninth Avenue, which has ever since been sending its ministerial candidates to every part of the land. William Johnson was well known in his day as the able reporter of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the State of New York.

There were many others present at the inauguration of the society whose names reflect luster upon the organization. Rev. Dr. John Bow-

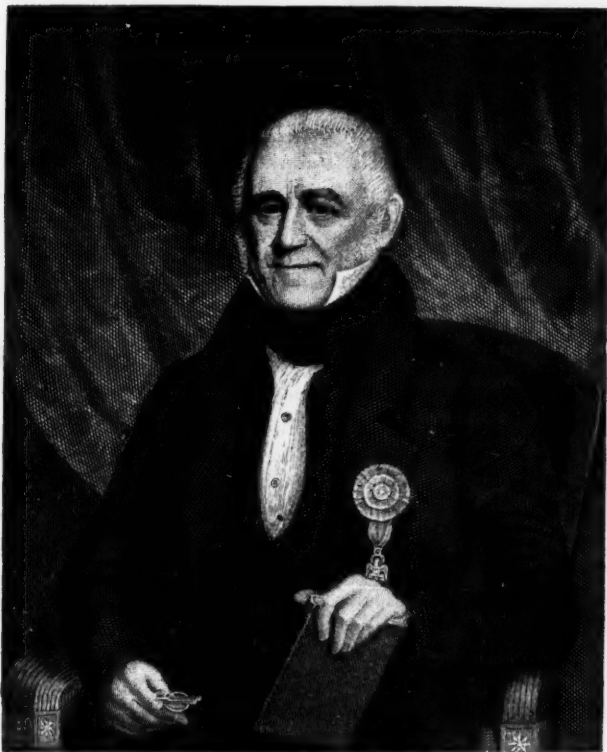


THE OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE.

Second Home of the New York Historical Society, 1809-1816.

den, for a dozen years professor of moral philosophy and belles-lettres in Columbia College; Rev. Dr. John C. Kunze, among the most learned divines and Oriental scholars of his day, and the first to strongly urge the propriety of educating youth in English; John Kemp, of Columbia College, the eminent mathematician, who was elected to the Royal Society of Edinburgh before he was twenty-one; Rev. Dr. William Harris, rector of St. Mark's Church, afterward president of Columbia College for many years; Peter Wilson, a notable linguist, who possessed much other knowledge of value to the new institution; John Murray, Jr., a clever man, a lover of the arts, a philanthropist, and an ardent promoter of our free-

school system; Dr. Archibald Bruce, a young physician who was editing the *Journal of American Mineralogy*—the first professor, indeed, of mineralogy in this country; and Samuel Bayard and Peter Gerard Stuyvesant, both gentlemen of education, culture, wealth, public spirit, and benevo-



MORGAN LEWIS,

Sixth President of New York Historical Society, 1832-1836.

lence. Bayard resided in New Jersey, where he had done much to promote learning, but he was essentially a New Yorker. Mr. Stuyvesant was the seventh president of the society, from 1836 to 1840. From his Bedford home Chief-Justice John Jay rendered substantial aid; and his eldest son, Peter Augustus Jay, the eminent lawyer, contributed largely to the material for a library. His gifts embraced much of that curious accumula-



PETER AUGUSTUS JAY,

*Eighth President of New York Historical Society,
1840-1843.*

[From *Harpers Magazine*, May, 1883.]

tion of periodicals published before the Revolution. He said, "A file of American newspapers is of far more value to our enterprise than all the Byzantine historians." This accomplished scholar was the eighth president of the society, from January, 1840, to January, 1843. His death occurred in February, 1843. John McKesson, one of the first standing committee, was a large contributor of legislative documents, of which were the Journals of the Provincial Congress and Convention, together with the proceedings of the Committee of Safety from May, 1775, to the adoption of the State constitution in 1777.

The first treasurer of the society was Charles Wilkes, president of the Bank of New York, a nephew of the celebrated John Wilkes of the English Parliament, and an uncle of the famous Charles Wilkes, hero of the capture of *Mason and Slidell*; the first librarian was John Forbes.

The celebrated James Kent, one of the most eminent jurists and first legal writers of his time, was an early member, and the fifth president of the institution, from 1828 to 1832. Prior to 1804 he had filled numerous positions of trust, and was that year made chief-justice of the State. He was then forty-one. In 1814 he became chancellor of the State; and in 1822 represented Albany in the State Constitutional Convention, of which he was a distinguished member. Two years later he became a professor of law in Columbia College, and his lectures delivered before his classes form the basis of his celebrated commentaries on the United States Constitution.

It will be observed that the Faculty of Columbia College furnished a strong delegation to aid in the formation of this society—and also that several of the founders were regents of the university. Morgan Lewis, the jurist and soldier, who was governor of the State from 1804 to 1807, took an active interest in its affairs, and in the course of years became its sixth president, succeeding Chancellor Kent—from January, 1832, to the beginning of 1836. He delivered the centennial address on the 22d of February, 1832, before the city authorities, in honor of the birth of Washington. The name of Matthew Clarkson stands high upon the first list of members

—a name associated with the foundation of nearly all the early meritorious societies of the metropolis, whether intended for education, culture, relief, or protection. He was twenty-one years president of the Bank of New York, and the senior vice-president of the American Bible Society. De Witt Clinton said, "Whenever a charitable or public-spirited institution was about to be established, Clarkson's presence was considered essential. His sanction became a passport to public approbation."

Gouverneur Morris, the brilliant statesman and orator, was for some years the first vice-president of the society, and the second president, succeeding Judge Benson in 1816. He presided over it, however, only a part of that year, his death occurring in November. The reader in every part of our broad country is familiar with his public career. Born in 1752, we find him at twenty-five one of the committee to draft the State constitution; next a member of the Continental Congress while the Revolution was in progress; one of the framers of the Constitution of the Republic; then minister to France; and in the United States Senate from 1800 to 1803. He was also chairman of the canal commission from 1810 until his death. He resided on his beautiful estate at Morrisania and passed the later years of his life in munificent hospitality.

It was in the year 1814 that a memorial to the legislature of New York, drafted in a masterly manner by De Witt Clinton, then the second vice-president of the institution, setting forth its grand and important objects, was so favorably received as to induce the grant of \$12,000 toward the beginning of a substantial library. In 1838, another enlightened memorial to the legislature, urging the importance of an investigation of the European archives, produced an act authorizing the appointment of an agent to visit England, France, and Holland, to secure if possible copies of all papers and documents relating to our colonial or other history. John Romeyn Broadhead was chosen for this mission, and spent upward of three years in the work. The result was a mass of documentary information of the utmost importance, much of which has been printed for reference, and distributed through the public libraries of the land. The cost of rescuing these scattered memorials of our colonial existence was some \$12,000; but it was an economical outlay. The society was congratulated on every hand for its exertions and their reward.

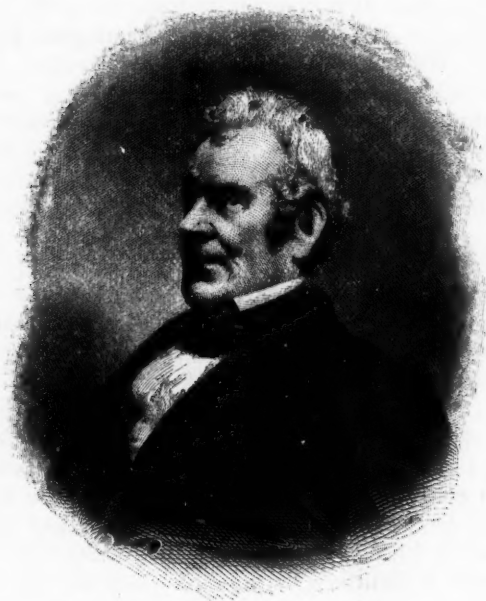
It was in 1843, during the term of Mr. Broadhead's investigations abroad, that the veteran financier and political economist, Albert Gallatin, was elected to the presidency of the society. He held the office until his death in August, 1849. He was of medium height, with features strongly marked, a bald head, and an eye of piercing brilliancy. He was the best



Albert Gallatin

Ninth President of New York Historical Society, 1843-1850.

talker of the century, at home on all topics, with a wonderful memory for facts and dates. His intellectual charms were such that after he took up his abode permanently in New York, in 1827, the Gallatin Club was formed for the sole object of listening to his conversation. He was mainly instrumental in founding the Ethnological Society, of which he became the first president. He was also president of one of the New York banks from 1831 to 1839; and he wrote and published many works of great value. He is best remembered as the Secretary of the Treasury from 1801 to 1813, where he exercised a potent influence in other departments of the Government and in the politics of the country. But his diplomatic services—at St. Petersburg, in 1813, at Ghent, in 1814, when the treaty of peace was concluded, and in France where he remained eight years—were of no less consequence to America. On his return home from these various missions, he declined a seat in the cabinet, and also to be a candidate for Vice-President. He had resolved to devote himself chiefly to literature, science,



Respectfully Yours
L. Bradish

Tenth President of New York Historical Society, 1850-1863.

and historical and ethnological researches. His whole history, from the time he reached this country from Switzerland, in 1780, at nineteen years of age, reads like a veritable romance. Few instances grace our annals where an adventurer in a strange land raised himself by simple force of energy and talent to such a pinnacle of distinction and usefulness, or where perfect purity was balanced in a political character with so much of genius and culture.

Luther Bradish was the tenth president of the society, taking the chair in January, 1850. He was re-elected annually for thirteen successive years, and died in office, August 30, 1863. In elegance of scholarship, and in

the numberless graces that combine to make the perfect presiding officer, he was unrivaled. He was a native of Cummington, Massachusetts, and a graduate of Williams College in 1804; had studied law, traveled extensively abroad, served six years in the legislature and fourteen years as lieutenant-governor of New York, and was Assistant Treasurer of the United States at New York during Fillmore's administration, a position which he filled with great satisfaction to all parties. He occupied his spare moments with many educational, charitable, and reformatory projects, and commanded universal admiration and esteem. He was president, also, of the American Bible Society.

His immediate successor in the Historical Society was Frederic De Peyster, who was president from 1864 to 1867, and again from 1873 until his death, August 17, 1882. Mr. De Peyster had been forty years an active member of the institution, and was its corresponding secretary from 1827 to 1837, its foreign secretary in 1844, and one of its vice-presidents from 1850 to 1853. He had also been the envoy of the society in 1827 to the legislature at Albany, and, with great tact and discretion, succeeded in convincing the hostile legislators of the importance of preserving perishable papers and fugitive pamphlets; and obtained the substantial grant of \$5,000 for the aid of the society. He was chairman of many important committees, not least of which was the building committee when the present edifice was erected. He opened his purse liberally on all occasions, and his various gifts reveal his genuine taste for history, art, and archæology. He was the representative of one of the oldest and best families in New York, where he was born in 1796, was a graduate from Columbia College, had studied law, and at one time was Master in Chancery. He was connected with more social, learned, literary, and philanthropic societies than any other man of his time. He was one of the founders of the St. Nicholas Society, president of the St. Nicholas Club, vice-president of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, trustee of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, manager of the Home for Incurables, for fifty years clerk of the board of trustees of the Leake and Watts Orphan House, and president of the New York Society Library, besides holding positions of honor in many other noteworthy organizations. He was the author of several historical monographs of special value. He was a large-hearted Christian gentleman of the old school, of ripe culture, large wealth, high social position, and kindly, courteous manners.

Hamilton Fish, the honorable Secretary of State during President Grant's administration of eight years, was made the twelfth president of the society, elected in 1867, and resigned in 1869 to take his seat in the



Twelfth President of New York Historical Society, 1867-1869.

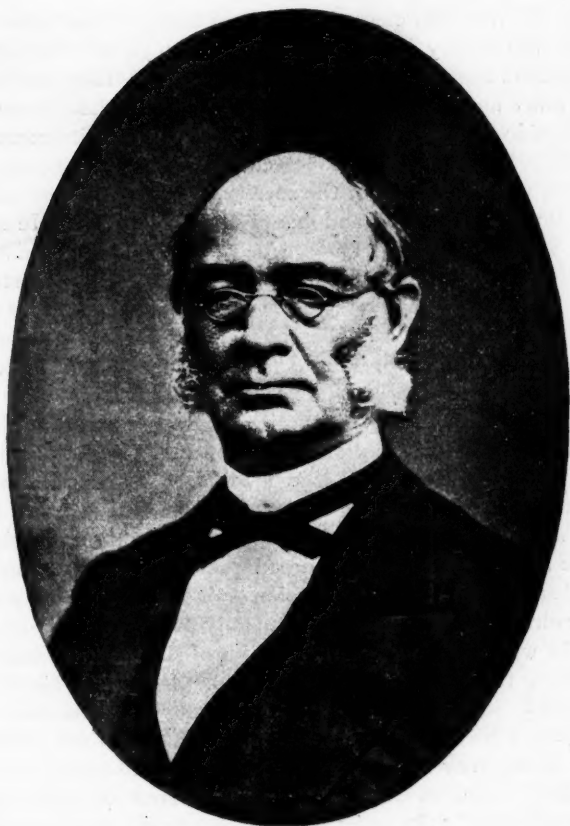
councils of the nation. It was through his suggestion that the joint high commission between the United States and Great Britain met in 1871, to settle the various difficulties between the two nations, including the famous Alabama claims. His career of public usefulness commenced early. He was doing duty in 1837 in the legislature of New York, was in Congress from 1843 to 1845; was elected lieutenant-governor in 1847, was governor of the State from 1849 to 1851, and was United States senator



Thomas De Witt

President of New York Historical Society, 1870-1872.

from 1851 to 1857. He is the son of Colonel Nicholas Fish, of old New York memory, and through his mother a direct descendant of the famous Governor Peter Stuyvesant. Peter Gerard Stuyvesant, president of the society from 1836 to 1840, was the uncle of Hamilton Fish. As a citizen no New Yorker occupies a more enviable place. He has been invited to the presidency of numerous clubs, societies, and institutions; and in 1872 was made president of the Order of the Cincinnati. He is now the first vice-president of the New York Historical Society; and William M. Evarts, the honorable Secretary of State during President Hayes' administration, and at present United States senator, is its foreign corresponding secretary.



Augustus Schell

President of New York Historical Society, 1872 and 1883-1884.

[From the painting in possession of the New York Historical Society.]

The thirteenth president of the society was Rev. Thomas De Witt, D.D., one of the most eminent divines in the Reformed Dutch Church, who had long been identified with the institution as one of its vice-presidents. He was a graceful and vigorous writer and an eloquent preacher. His historical "Discourse," delivered before his congregation on the last Sabbath in August, 1856, is one of the finest productions of the kind

extant. Dr. De Witt was elected in the beginning of the year 1870, and presided over the society most acceptably for two years. In 1872, Augustus Schell became the president for one year, and in 1883 was re-elected, holding the office until his death, March 27, 1884. He had been a member of the society since 1838, and for twenty-five years one of its executive committee, of which he was chairman nineteen years. A part of that period he was one of the vice-presidents of the society, and furthered its interests immeasurably through his purse and his personal influence. He was a tall, stately man, with an air of quiet, unobtrusive dignity, a countenance genial and kind, manners courteous and affable, and great force and strength of character. He was one who respected in the minutest particular the rights and opinions of others, and as a consequence was exceedingly tenacious of his own. From 1857 to 1861 he was collector of the port of New York. Prior to that time he had been an exceedingly busy man in law and politics, and was concerned in the foundation of many institutions and societies now well known and prosperous, of which the New York Institution for the Blind may, perhaps, be said to have stood first in his affections. Later on he embarked in railroad schemes, and, possessing the rare faculty of seeing men and things quickly and clearly in their practical relations, he soon became a power among the railroad princes. It was thought at the time of his death that, with the exception of one, he held more positions as director in railroads and companies than any other man in the country. Meanwhile he was very active in the politics of the city, the State, and the nation. During the last twelve years of his life he was the Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society. His last appearance in public was on the evening of the 27th of November, 1883, when he presided at the seventy-ninth anniversary of the New York Historical Society, held at the Academy of Music, on which occasion Hon. John Jay delivered an address on "The Peace Negotiations of 1782 and 1783." The brother of President Schell, Mr. Robert Schell, is treasurer of the New York Historical Society at the present time. The president chosen in 1885 to succeed Augustus Schell, and who still presides over the society, is Benjamin H. Field, a well-known and accomplished gentleman, who had long been one of the vice-presidents and a member of the executive committee. Cornelius Vanderbilt is the second vice-president, Mr. Fish, as before stated, being the first. Colonel Andrew Warner is recording secretary, Edward F. De Lancey is domestic corresponding secretary—Mr. Evarts being the foreign corresponding secretary—and Jacob Moore, the brother of the accomplished Dr. George H. Moore, long identified with the society as its librarian and one of its executive committee, is librarian.

The celebration of important historic events has formed a notable feature of the work of this institution from the first. In 1809 commenced the third century since Hudson discovered Manhattan Island, and a great festival was planned. It was during that year that the society obtained, through the powerful aid of De Witt Clinton, a charter from the legislature of the State, which placed it on a firm and substantial foundation. Its home was about the same date removed to one of the rooms in the Government House. On the 4th of September the society assembled in the front court room of Federal Hall, in Wall Street, and listened to Rev. Dr. Miller's famous discourse, which had been carefully prepared for the memorable occasion. It was a brilliant assemblage of ladies and gentlemen who comprised the audience, and when the meeting closed the society and their invited guests repaired to the City Hotel and "sat down to an elegant dinner." The toasts and sentiments offered at this banquet are faithfully recorded in the minutes of the society. It was an affair of great social significance. This festival led to the publication of the first volume of the society's collections, since when thirty bound volumes have been issued, besides a large number of historical papers and addresses in pamphlet form. The foundation of the library seems to have been laid in 1807. Some small purchases were made, and liberal donations soon produced quite a respectable collection of books. In 1813, the first catalogue was prepared. There was an annual festival of the society in those early years on St. Nicholas day, the 6th of December, attended always with a dinner served at some of the hotels. Among the numerous orators, whose eloquence and general learning added much historical data to the special fund, were De Witt Clinton, Gouverneur Morris, Dr. Hosack, Verplanck, and Jarvis. In 1824, a notable reception was given to Lafayette by the society, who was received with the greatest enthusiasm and conducted by the president, Dr. Hosack, to the chair that once belonged to Louis XVI.—a present from Gouverneur Morris. Over this chair hung the portrait of Lafayette, painted in 1784, decorated with Revolutionary emblems. Thus the delighted guests could look upon the likeness of the chivalrous young soldier at the same instant while regarding the man who, by forty years of hard service, had reached a ripe old age, crowned with wisdom and honors.

On the 30th of April, 1839, the fiftieth anniversary of Washington's inauguration as first President of the Republic was celebrated with great spirit by the society. The memorable address on the occasion was by John Quincy Adams, ex-President of the United States. One of the most famous discourses ever delivered before the society, however, was that of

Daniel Webster, in 1852, at Niblo's. So great was the effort to obtain tickets, that, if they could have been sold, from \$50 to \$100 would have been readily given for one in numerous instances. Chief-Justice Jones, the oldest member of the bar present, offered the vote of thanks, which was seconded by Charles O'Connor, the youngest member of the bar present. In 1857, on the 3d of November, a distinguished throng assembled to participate in the exercises attending the dedication of the new library building, in Second Avenue, corner of Eleventh Street, the present home of the society. After wandering for half a century, the tenant at will of



NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.

Home of the New York Historical Society, 1841-1857.

others, from the Federal Hall in Wall Street, 1804-1809, to the Government House, 1809-1816; then to the "New York Institution," where it remained until 1832; from there to a new hall in Remsen's building in Broadway, corner of Chambers Street—on which occasion a learned discourse was delivered by William Beach Lawrence; in the summer of 1837; to the "Stuyvesant Institute," an elegant new building in Broadway; and from 1841 to 1857 in the New York University; the society at last rejoiced in a temple of its own. It was a proud day when it first opened its doors to the community. Addresses were made by its president, Luther Bradish, by Rev. Dr. William Adams, by President King of Columbia College, by George Bancroft, the historian, and others. Mr. Bancroft said: "The gift of this building is significant; it is one of the many proofs that the busiest

city is the most genial home of literature. Where there is the most action, there there must be the most thought. The world of the scholar and the world of the man of affairs are all one. The widest connections furnish the greatest opportunity of concentrating knowledge, and the readiest means for its diffusion. In such a community there is no possibility of a



Frederic De Cyster

President of New York Historical Society, 1867-1870 and 1873-1882.

dead calm, of a stagnation of the mind. The ever-moving winds of controversy winnow opinions, and the fire of truth is kept alive and fed by contributions from all climes. And what city is bound by more associations and ties to all parts of the world than our own New York?" On the 17th of the same month the erudite Dr. John W. Francis, for many years one of the society's standing committee, and its librarian from 1812 to 1819, delivered the fifty-third anniversary discourse. This paper was subse-

quently published in book form—a captivating presentation of pen pictures and personalities. In 1863, the society celebrated the two hundredth birthday of Bradford, who introduced printing into the colonies, and the discourse was by John William Wallace, of Philadelphia. A great many distinguished visitors were in the city from all parts of the country to attend the Bradford centennial, and on the evening of the following day a full-dress reception was given by the society in its new library building, every room and gallery being thrown open for the purpose. The guests began to arrive about nine o'clock, and music and dancing enlivened the dazzling scene until a late hour. In 1864, the society celebrated the two hundredth anniversary of the conquest of New York by the English, and the oration was by John Romeyn Broadhead. In 1868, the distinguished John Lothrop Motley delivered the anniversary discourse, the society and its guests filling the Academy of Music—as brilliant an assemblage as was ever convened on this continent—and no one present on that occasion will ever forget the impressive scene. In 1870, Charles Francis Adams stood upon the same platform, and surrounded by the great men of the country, addressed the society and its friends in a strain of masterly eloquence. In 1875, another vast and intellectual assemblage was convened in the same place by the society to listen to the inspiring oratory of Rev. Dr. R. S. Storrs. Nor must we omit to mention the great field-day of the society in 1876, to celebrate in the open air the centennial of the battle of Harlem Heights, on which occasion the Hon. John Jay addressed an immense multitude; or the society's celebration in 1877 of the one hundredth anniversary of the adoption of the State constitution, the orator of the evening being the distinguished lawyer, Charles O'Connor, one of the vice-presidents of the society.

The most prominent men of letters, as well as the leading statesmen and clergymen within the century, have been identified with this institution—Irving, Verplanck, Halleck, Cooper, Schoolcraft, Headley, Lossing, Osgood, Bancroft, and the patriarch of American literature, William Cullen Bryant, who was for many years one of its vice-presidents. The largest and probably the most notable audience ever assembled by the society was that which filled the Academy of Music from floor to dome on the evening of December 30, 1878, to listen to a commemorative oration from the gifted scholar, George William Curtis, upon the life, character, and writings of the illustrious Bryant. The President of the nation and his cabinet were seated on the platform, together with some three or four hundred of the representative men of the country in church and state, in law, politics, commerce, and letters. At the conclusion of the exercises in the Academy



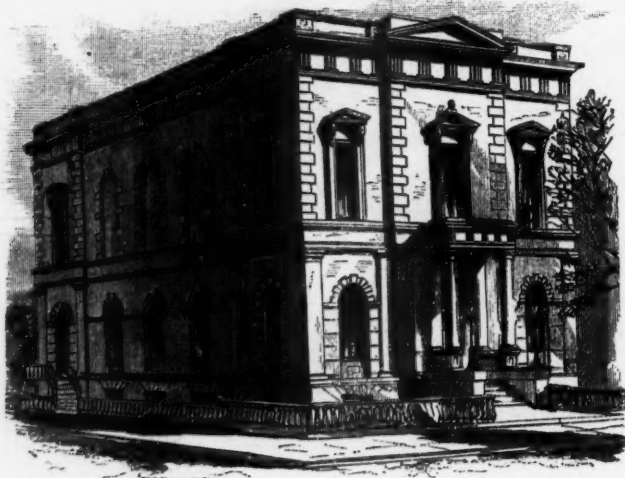
Saml H. Childs

President of New York Historical Society, 1885, 1886.

an elegant reception was given to the head of the nation at the private residence of the president, Frederic De Peyster, special cards of invitation having been previously issued, and a sumptuous banquet was served to over two hundred guests of distinction.

And here let us take a rapid survey of what the society has accumulated in the eighty-two years of its eventful existence. The library now contains seventy-five volumes of reference, and an immense mass of scarce pamphlets and valuable maps and manuscripts, all of the first moment to the historical student. One room is exclusively devoted to the docu-

mentary treasures. Newspapers in well bound volumes furnish contemporaneous history in an unbroken chain through every decade since the first printing-press was established in this country. The society had no sooner taken possession of this fire-proof building in 1857—which



HOME OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1857-1886.

Corner of Second Avenue and Eleventh Street, New York City.

was supposed large enough to accommodate its collection for a century or so—than benefactions came flowing in, some of them of great magnitude and value, and every nook and corner was soon filled to overflowing. The building is now so packed and crammed with treasures that a thousand things of the first consequence are out of sight altogether. One of the gifts to the institution was the historical collection of Rev. Dr. Hawks, of Calvary Church, a superb thesaurus of volumes, which was purchased after his death by William Niblo, who was the generous donor. Another benefaction was that of the Buckingham Smith collection of Spanish history, presented by John David Wolfe, accompanying which is the famous Vlpus globe, an

Italian production of 1542, upon which the Northern and Southern Hemispheres are constructed separately.* Many extensive collections of family papers have been donated. It has been said that books come nearer to immortality than any other production of man's skill or labor, and one cannot help being impressed with the force of the remark while observing in this rich repository the first Dutch Bible, in a remarkable state of preservation, printed in Holland in 1477; it was a gift to the society from *Hon. James W. Beekman, one of its vice-presidents. Scores of rare volumes are preserved here which can be found nowhere else in existence. The collection of works upon American history embraces nearly every publication of consequence since the settlement of this continent. The department of local history and genealogy was recently greatly enlarged by the generous bequest of Stephen Whitney Phoenix of his comprehensive library, with a munificent fund for its maintenance and increase.

The picture galleries of the institution afford opportunity for the study of art from the beginning, together with the successive conditions which se-



SECTION OF THE LIBRARY OF NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

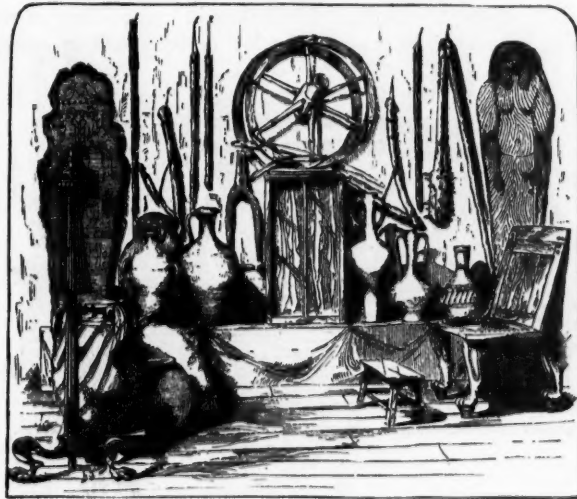
* This quaintly curious globe was fully described in the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY* of January, 1879, with map of globe, and portrait of Pope Marcellus II.

cured and fostered its development, particularly that between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. Among dreams of faith, objects of worship, resignation, martyrdom, hope, ecstasy, sacrifice, repentance, devotion, and under the eyes of princes, potentates, warriors, and scholars, the lover of antiquarian art may revel in a trip backward to the dark ages. The crude specimens from the brushes of the earliest painters hang in neighborly proximity to works from the old masters, and the quaintest of settings in the line of frames give them additional interest. The number of oil paintings in the building is upwards of eight hundred—it is the largest permanent collection probably on this continent—thus a mere passing glimpse of them, as a whole, must suffice for this brief article. The galleries were considerably more than full when the Bryan collection was presented to the society, valued at \$100,000; and in 1882 a legacy from Louis Durr further added one hundred and forty-eight paintings, all of which had been selected to represent as far as possible the greatest variety of subjects and artists. The ingenuity of the custodians was taxed to the utmost to give these choice acquisitions a place; and the walls are now covered from floor to ceiling, pictures touch and overshadow each other everywhere, they adorn the audience-hall, the grand entrance, the staircases, and every available niche elsewhere. Were these rare paintings hung to advantage they would occupy six times as much space. The collection is no casual gathering of odds and ends. Many of the examples are small, but none the less gems of art. Works of Titian, Murillo, Poussin, Claude Lorraine, Albert Durer, Sir Peter Lely, Rembrandt, Rubens, Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci, Watteau, Giorgione, Guido, and Correggio—their authenticity in every instance being supported by the best authority—may be seen and studied here. There are several by Velasquez, the great Spanish master, of which the portrait of the Infanta Margarita is the most characteristic and quaintly interesting. The eccentric costume of the time of Charles IV. is treated admirably in it, and the color is soft and beautiful. A *connoisseur*, recently returned from the great art centres of the old world, says neither Paris nor Munich possesses a finer example, and that this painting would hold its place among the many masterpieces of Velasquez at Madrid.

Aside from the various early schools of art represented in these galleries—the Byzantine, Italian, Venetian, Florentine, Flemish, Dutch, Spanish, German, and French—British art and American versatility of talent hold a conspicuous place. Examples of Gainsborough, Sir Joshua Reynolds, West, Stuart, Sully, Cole, St. Memin, Jarvis, Durand, Mount, Rembrandt Peale, Charles Wilson Peale, Huntington, Trumbull, Vanderlyn,

Powell, Flagg, Osgood, Page, Hicks, and a host of others well known to the modern public are not wanting. The collection may be examined closely for days in succession without exhausting its resources. It is distinguished for embracing the largest and most important gallery of American historical portraits in the world.

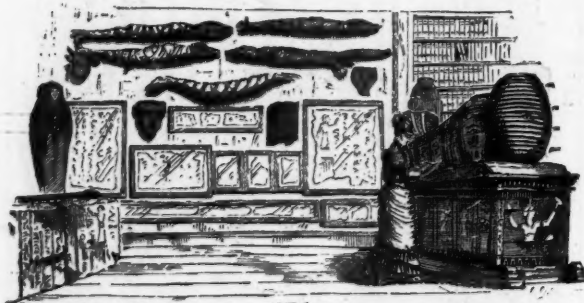
In the department of antiquities attention is divided between the celebrated Egyptian museum of treasures, the Nineveh sculptures, presented to the society in 1857 by James Lenox, and relics of the North and South American Indians. To trace the features of the Egyptian collection it is necessary to traverse nearly the whole building, although the middle gallery is its special abiding-place. It will startle the bustling public to be told that by turning aside any bright morning from the mad rush in Broadway at Tenth Street, and traveling eastward two blocks, a modest edifice may be entered where one can be made contemporary, as it



PHARAOH'S CHARIOT-WHEEL. BATTLE-AXES. ANCIENT VASES. EGYPTIAN CHAIR AND FOOTSTOOL. WAR-CLUBS.

were, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with the Pharaohs, the Israelites in Egypt, with Shishak, and with Zerah! But it is nevertheless true. One of the vases shown in our illustration is inscribed with the cartouche (corresponding to our modern armorial bearings) of Papi, second dynasty, 2001 years B.C. Another is dated the year before Abraham's arrival in Egypt. A blue porcelain, hawk-headed vase, found in the plain of Zoan, is inscribed with the name Osorkon, the Ethiopian king Zerah of the Scriptures, who went out against Asa, king of Jerusalem, "with a host of a thousand thousand, and three hundred chariots" [II. Chronicles, xiv. 9], and was overthrown by an army of five hundred and fourscore thousand with targets

and spears, which battle took place 941 B.C. Many of these rare curiosities furnish palpable evidence of the authenticity of the Bible. The iron helmet and breastplate of scale armor of Shishak, for instance, the great Egyptian war potentate, who went against Rehoboam of Jerusalem, 971 B.C., "with twelve hundred chariots and threescore thousand horsemen," and plundered the city of all the golden shields which Solomon had made, as related in the twelfth chapter of II. Chronicles. A magnificently carved slab of limestone from the temple of Erment, represents the triumphal return of a king of the thirteenth dynasty, or possibly a more ancient Pharaoh, from a distant war, some 1850 B.C., and several fragments of linen and woolen cloth reveal the skill of the ladies in embroidery at nearly the same date. The wheel of Pharaoh's chariot corresponds in construction with those



MUMMY AND SARCOPHAGUS. HIEROGLYPHICS. SACRED IBIS. GODS. ALLIGATORS.
CROCODILES. TABLETS.

represented by the ancient sculptors, having six spokes. Most interesting are the clay stamps of the government of Egypt used by Terak in the twenty-fifth dynasty, 714 B.C., for securing the locks of public buildings or granaries. The fresh Nile mud was plastered over

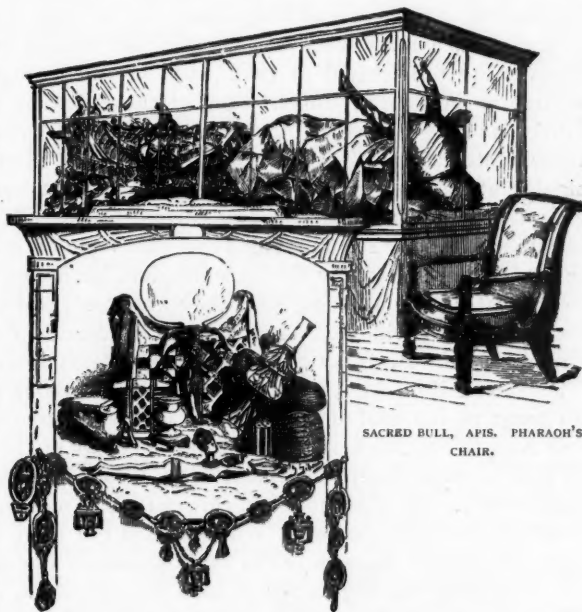
the lock, and impressed while wet with this stamp, after which it could not, of course, be opened without breaking the seal.

With their relics and their records, as exhibited in this museum, we have a picture of the Egyptians as they were—living, breathing, thinking, moving, laughing, weeping, loving, hating, working people like ourselves. An index to their daily life and habits is found in the household implements, eatables, and articles of utility and of the toilet. The hand-mirror in the illustration is of polished bronze, mirror-glass not having yet been discovered. The lady's work-basket is a veritable curiosity, and contains a complete variety of toilet and useful articles, not least of which is a piece of linen in process of being darned or mended. The spoon carved in hard wood represents a Nubian woman swimming, her extended arms supporting a goose which is hollowed out to form the bowl of the spoon, the head

of the figure being notably well executed, with hair dressed in the style of the old Abyssinians. There are fruit-baskets made of the papyrus leaf; baskets and cords from the fiber of the date-tree; head-rests or pillows in wood; worsted knitting work, and thread in skeins; toilet-boxes, one bearing the arms of a queen; scissors, pins, and needles in bronze; small boxes with powder for the face, and black powder (called kohl) in use to blacken eyelids in the time of Jezebel; castanets used by dancers; tablets upon which the children learned to write the Greek language when it was first introduced by

the Ptolemies; curious games, and quaint wooden dolls for the amusement of children; the *stylus*, or Greek pen; reeds or Egyptian pens; inkstands; the papyrus to write upon; combs in wood and bronze, and dress-combs in ivory. The jewels worn by this ancient people overwhelm us with a sense of our own insignificance. Modern invention, what is it, alas, but reproduction! The most unique designs wrought in

gold and the various metals appear in necklaces, ear-rings, pins, bracelets, rings, anklets, and other ornaments. In the picture may be seen the necklace of the first Pharaoh of Egypt, 2750 B.C., constructed with eight oval plates of gold-leaf, connected by a chain of thin strips of flattened gold, each oval plate stamped with the name "Menes." Bracelets seem to have been much worn, and the specimens are numerous; one is of twisted gold wire, the ends terminating in a lotus-flower. Diadems of quaint device,



SACRED BULL, APIS. PHARAOH'S CHAIR.

EGYPTIAN MIRROR OF BRONZE. LADY'S WORK-BASKET, B.C. CARVED WOODEN SPOON. PHARAOH'S NECKLACE.

figures of divinities stamped in gold, head-dresses, clasps and amulets, are very numerous. The mosaics of that long-ago period are gems of beauty, and they seem to reveal what many men and women believed, desired, regretted, remembered, hoped, and felt. It was the sentiment of religion that first kindled mechanical agents into life. The relation of art to a country, an era, and a community is no fanciful, but an absolute element of its history.

The humor of the Egyptians is handed along through their caricatures, of which may be instanced a painting upon a fragment of limestone of a lion seated on a throne as king, and a fox as high priest offering him a picked goose and a feather fan. It is a fact worthy of notice that glass-blowers are represented at their work in the hieroglyphics which were written in the time of Moses. One of the efforts at portraiture is of an Ethiopian king on glass. A funeral papyrus twenty-two feet long is intensely interesting. It is handsomely written, and illuminated with various significant illustrations. It is a specimen of what was deposited in every Egyptian tomb—a history of the deceased, with pictures of remarkable events in his life. The mummied specimens are of great variety. Crocodiles were held sacred by the ancients, since having no tongues and seeing in the water without being seen, they were esteemed emblematical of the Deity—as the Divine Reason governs all in silence. Cats were consecrated to the moon. Birds, scorpions, fishes, snakes, etc., all had their charms. The Sacred Bull, Apis, however, was honored above all other animals, as an image of the soul of Osiris. The soul was supposed to migrate from one Apis to another in succession, and the death of the animal was a season of general mourning, its interment being accompanied with the most costly ceremonials. Dr. Abbott found three of these mummied treasures in the tombs at Dashour, and what renders them the more valuable is the fact that not another museum in the world possesses a perfect specimen.

In tracing the beginnings of such an institution, we find no endings. The present varied collection of literary, historic, art, scientific, and antiquarian treasures—of which vastly more can be read *between* than *in* the lines of this chapter—are but the beginnings of the great museum of the future. The monumental structure to be its proud home is beginning even now to take shape in the public mind.

Martha J Lamb

THE DEFECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

ITS HISTORICAL AMENDMENTS AND THEIR INADEQUACY

The Constitution of the United States, as originally framed and adopted, contained seven articles. It went into effect on the 4th March, 1789, and in less than seven months thereafter Congress found it necessary to propose twelve more articles—ten of which were promptly ratified by the requisite number of States and two rejected. On the 5th March, 1794, the eleventh amendment was submitted to the States by Congress, and the twelfth on 12th December, 1803, and both accepted. Eleven of these amendments related to new matters, not touched on in the Constitution, but the twelfth was simply a change in a part of the first section of the second article.

The Constitution is, then, the joint production of the Philadelphia Convention and Congress, and it is interesting to note the difference between the work of the two. Conscious of the difficulty of getting thirteen States to agree on such a subject, the convention was content to provide a good and safe outline of government and construct the machinery for its practical administration, and then rested. Their report to Congress shows how they regarded it, in which they say: "In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view, that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence, and thus the constitution which we now present is the result of a spirit of amity and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable."

But Congress, thinking the instrument rather barren, meagre, and incomplete, set to work to embody in it great principles of civil liberty and fundamental safeguards. The amendments, from one to ten inclusive, are in some sort an American Magna Charta, and embrace declarations of human rights and restraints on the power of the new government. In them are found asserted:

1. Freedom of religious belief.
2. Freedom of speech.
3. Freedom of the press.
4. Right of petition.
5. Right of the people to keep and carry arms.

6. Security from unreasonable searches and seizures.
7. That citizens cannot be tried for felony except on indictment by a grand jury.
8. That nobody shall be twice tried for the same offense.
9. That private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.
10. That accused persons shall be tried by jury, shall be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, shall be confronted with the witnesses against them, and shall have compulsory process for witnesses and the assistance of counsel.

11. That excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel nor unusual punishment inflicted. Thus, while we owe the *form* of our government to the convention, we owe its *principles* to Congress.

But the wisdom of these two great assemblages seemed to desert them, in some particulars, and they failed conspicuously in one feature of the very greatest consequence—the provisions of the Constitution were defective in regard to the manner of electing the President and Vice-President, counting the electoral vote, and providing for the successor in case of the death or inability to act of the President, and these defects were not cured by the twelfth amendment. For the century during which our Government has existed, Congress and the people have been well aware of the fact that these provisions were not only immature and insufficient, but were in actual conflict with the principles upon which the Constitution was framed, and were, besides, a constant source of danger. At almost every session of Congress this has been recognized, and measures have from time to time been brought forward to remedy the trouble; but no Congress has yet been successful in grappling with it, and to-day we seem as far from a solution of it as ever.

Why it is, that a matter of such pressing importance and ever recurring menace has not forced Congress to definite action, it is hard to say. But even the experience of the electoral commission and the acknowledged short-comings of the Constitution and laws, which made it necessary to resort to such a temporary expedient, have been insufficient to compel the passage of an effective and final measure. The theory upon which the framers of the Constitution proceeded was, that it should be a joint government of the States and the people—the House of Representatives being elected directly by the people, was to represent them—the Senate elected by the States, was to represent them, and it was attempted to combine these two things in the election of the President, and thus, in some sort, let him represent both. To accomplish this the electoral college was

devised. But everybody knows how far this has departed in practice from the purposes for which it was created. They were elected by the people, and it was intended that *they* should elect the President and Vice-President, not in form only, but in fact—anybody they chose, that they should be free to elect the men they considered best suited for the places. But this never has been done; the President from the beginning has been designated, either by a congressional caucus or a convention of the people, chosen in whatever manner the party managers dictated. The electors now have nothing to do, and do nothing, except to record their votes for the nominee of their party.

That this body, constituted as it is, has fallen into practical disuse, is not surprising and not to be much regretted. If the electors had been left to do as was intended, and elect a President in fact, the process would have been attended with difficulties innumerable, and probably would have resulted in nearly every case in an election by the House of Representatives. The electors were to meet and act in their own States. When the Constitution was adopted there were thirteen States, and there are thirty-eight now, and this is one instance where men were to perform a joint act without the least opportunity for discussion, concert of action, or interchange of views. The chances are very good that but for the fact that the electors have surrendered in practice their constitutional right to elect a President, and each body being ignorant of what the others were doing, a good many men would be voted for and no one receive a majority, and the House would be called upon to decide. And when it comes to that, all the principles upon which the Constitution, Union, and Government are supposed to be based, are set at naught, disregarded, and reversed. See how anomalous and defective the twelfth amendment is.

In the first place, it fails entirely to provide for the case of a contested election, or of rival governments in a State, or two or more returns, or the settlement of any other controverted question that may arise touching the election; neither does it in direct terms authorize Congress or the States to do this. The House and Senate each have the right to judge of the election, return, and qualification of its own members, and when two claim a seat can decide between them. But who is to do this as to the President and Vice-President? As the law now stands, nobody, and if a difficulty in any of these respects should arise, it would have to be settled by some hasty and temporary legislation.

When the returns of a Presidential election are counted and it is ascertained that no one has a constitutional majority, then the election devolves upon the House of Representatives, who shall, immediately, choose the

President, voting by ballot, and the representation from each State shall have one vote.

If the election by the electors failed, then consistency and a fair regard for the principle established in creating the electoral college and prescribing how it shall vote, would require that whatever substitute was adopted, should be on a similar basis. If the electors elect, then the people and States each participate and have their due and proper weight in the election; and this because in theory the President represents both. Yet when the election comes into the House, the people are dropped entirely and the members of the House, who are elected by the people and represent them theoretically, at least, are made the instruments of rejecting that element altogether. The Senators are excluded and allowed to participate in no manner, though they have their counterparts in the electoral college. If the voting is to be done by States alone, ought it not to be done by the men who are elected by the States as their special representatives? Why devolve such a function as this upon one of the legislative branches of the Government alone? The unity and symmetry of the proceedings would have been better preserved by letting the two Houses meet in joint assembly and each member cast a vote: they would have been equal in numbers to the electoral college and represented the exact interests. It might very well happen, too, that in an election by the House of Representatives, a very insignificant minority might outvote a large majority. There are now thirty-eight States—Nevada has a population of about fifty thousand and New York of five millions, yet each would cast only one vote. Twenty States could elect and these might be the smaller States, having an aggregate population of about twelve million out of a total of more than fifty millions.

To complete, as it would seem, the anomalous surroundings of the whole affair, the twelfth article provides: "The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest members on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President. A quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to elect." The House elects the President, the Senate the Vice-President; the House votes by States, the Senate individually! In electing a President by the House, if the delegation of a State be equally divided, its vote is lost, and a system which may cause a whole State to lose its vote can't be anything but bad in a representative and Republican government.

These are the defects and anomalies of our Constitution, so far as the election of a President and Vice-President are concerned. How is it as to counting the electoral vote? This is the rule prescribed by the Constitution and the only rule. "The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted." It was at one time claimed that this invested the President of the Senate with the exclusive and absolute right of deciding all questions as to the validity of returns, and all controversies about the vote of a State. But that pretension is now abandoned and Congress has provided no mode whatever to settle this transcendently important matter. The Senate and House had, for a time, what were called joint rules and the twenty-second of them, which was adopted on the 6th February, 1865, defined and directed the mode of proceeding in counting the electoral vote and prescribed how contests should be determined. That rule, after arranging for the assembling of the two Houses in the hall of the House of Representatives, the appointment of tellers, and the mere formal parts of the ceremony, went on to say: "If, upon the reading of any such certificate by the tellers, any question shall arise in regard to counting the vote therein certified, the same having been stated by the presiding officer, the Senate shall thereupon withdraw and said question shall thereupon be submitted to that body for its decision, and the speaker of the House of Representatives shall, in like manner, submit said question to the House of Representatives for its decision and no question shall be decided affirmatively and no vote objected to shall be counted, except by the concurrent vote of the two Houses, which being obtained, the two Houses shall immediately re-assemble and the presiding officer shall then announce the decision of the question submitted, and upon any such question there shall be no debate in either House; and any other question, pertinent to the object for which the two Houses are assembled, may be submitted and determined in like manner."

Under this rule, the votes of 1868 and 1872 only were counted. During the first session of the Forty-fourth Congress, a question was raised in the Senate whether the two Houses should not concur in re-adopting the joint rules; and accordingly that body, on the 20th January, 1876, passed and sent to the House this resolution: "That the joint rules of the Senate and House of Representatives, in force at the close of the last session of Congress, excepting the twenty-second joint rule, be and the same are hereby adopted as the joint rules of the two Houses for the present session." The House did not reply to this at all, but on the 14th August, 1876, sent to the Senate, for its concurrence, a resolution to suspend the sixteenth

and seventeenth joint rules; and thereupon the Senate answered, that, inasmuch as the House had not notified the Senate of the adoption of the joint rules, as proposed by the resolution of 20th January, 1876, there were no joint rules. This occurred at the end of the session, and Congress adjourned without providing any law or rule by which to count the votes of the electoral college in the Presidential election then at hand, and when that body re-assembled in the December following, it found contests in several States, and to settle them, passed the law under which the Electoral Commission acted.

Even this dangerous and exciting crisis failed to stir Congress to the enactment of some general plan, and the situation remained unchanged till 1881, when a temporary expedient was put into execution, and again until 1885, when another make-shift was adopted, which was as follows: "Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring): That the two Houses of Congress shall assemble in the hall of the House of Representatives, at 12 o'clock noon, on the 11th of February, 1885, pursuant to the requirements of the Constitution and laws relating to the election of President and Vice-President of the United States, and the President of the Senate shall be the presiding officer; that two persons be appointed tellers on the part of the Senate and two on the part of the House of Representatives to make a list of the votes as they shall be declared; that the result shall be delivered to the President of the Senate, who shall announce the state of the vote and the persons elected, to the two Houses assembled as aforesaid, which shall be deemed a declaration of the persons elected President and Vice-President of the United States and together with a list of the votes be entered on the journals of the two Houses."

That session of Congress ended and another is almost over, and the country is still left in the same unprovided and unprotected condition. The two Houses have not agreed upon any measure, though both constantly recognize its necessity. The twenty-second joint rule was very properly abrogated. It was adopted during the war, and surely no more objectionable and outrageous proceeding was ever enforced in any country. The electoral votes are returned sealed to the President of the Senate, and kept secure by him. On the day fixed for their count, they were, under that rule, opened and read, and their contents then first made officially known. Defects either of substance or form had to be considered and passed upon *immediately*, and without debate, by the two Houses separately, and it was in the power of either to deprive any State of its vote. The abolishment of this rule seems to have been an accident, but it was a fortunate one.

That the next Presidential election will find the needed legislation still not enacted, and that once more, some resolution, trumped up for the occasion, will be resorted to, is more than probable. The provisions of the Constitution and laws in regard to the Presidential succession are as loose and unsatisfactory as in other particulars relative to the office of President. Though this clause of the Constitution is familiar to everybody, I nevertheless quote it : "In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve upon the Vice-President, and the Congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall then act accordingly, until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected." The law passed to execute the above enacts that "the President of the Senate, or if there is none, then the Speaker of the House of Representatives, for the time being, shall act as President, until the disability is removed or a President elected." But for a long time there was a necessary interregnum in the office of speaker. Congress expired by law on the 4th March, and the elections for the next Congress did not take place till after that time; so, then, during the period between the 4th of March and the meeting of the next Congress in the December following there was not only no speaker but no Congress. A vacancy occurring then would have found no speaker to take it. And the same difficulty exists at the present day, for after the expiration of one Congress there is no speaker till the next Congress meets and elects one.

In an emergency the country might likewise find itself without a President of the Senate. As a measure of precaution, the Vice-President can retire from the chair as the session approaches its end, and then the Senate can elect a President, and if the Vice-President does not resume his seat before the adjournment, then the person so elected will be President of the Senate during the recess. But this is not always, nor indeed often, done. Mr. Hendricks did not do it, and he died before the next Congress met, and there was then no Vice-President, no President of the Senate, and no speaker, and if anything had unhappily befallen Mr. Cleveland the country would have been in a bad condition indeed.

It must be agreed that the law designating for the succession two officers, one of whom is no part of the regular machinery of government, and may or may not exist, as accident or chance direct, and the other having no being or life for eight months every second year, is lame and impotent. These embarrassments, serious as they are, are not all that attend

the Presidential office. What is "inability to act," and how is it to be ascertained? What body or tribunal is authorized by the constitution, or any act of, to take jurisdiction of this question and determine it authoritatively? There is none, and if a President should lose his reason there is no way known to the law by which the fact could be authenticated, and the "inability" so pronounced upon as to enable his successor to take his place.

Looking, then, at the whole Executive Department of the Government in all its phases, and considering the various processes of electing the President and Vice-President, counting the votes and ascertaining the result, deciding contests, providing fully for the succession, ascertaining and declaring what is "inability," we are forced to the conclusion that the Constitution and laws under it relating to these matters are equally defective, and that it is the imperative duty of Congress to remedy defects which have been in existence during the whole life of the Government without further delay. The Senate and House have each passed bills regulating the mode of counting the vote, but have not been able to agree on the same measure. The bill of the Senate provided that each State should decide for itself any controversy about the appointment of electors at least six days before the meeting of the electors, and that the judgment so rendered should be conclusive. If this had been done, it would have left to Congress only the formal duty of counting undisputed votes, and would have remedied one of the existing embarrassments. But the House did not favor this plan.

The bill which became a law at this session of Congress, regulating the Presidential succession, is conceded to be insufficient, and is regarded as only another of the temporary expedients which have been so prolific. But if the same inattention still continues which has prevailed heretofore it will remain unaltered on the statute-book till some great emergency befalls the country, when probably the same scenes of excitement, the same clamorous demand for a final settlement of the whole question, that have been witnessed several times in the past, will be again repeated, and more than likely with the same impotent result.

How an election by the House, under the present system, operates in practice, was well illustrated when John Q. Adams was elected under it. There were then twenty-four States, with an electoral vote of two hundred and sixty-one; of these Jackson had ninety-nine, Adams eighty-four, Crawford forty-one, and Clay thirty-seven. But when the final vote was reached in the House, Adams had thirteen States, Crawford four, and Jackson only seven.

Of the difficulties attending the office of President, all of which are of the utmost gravity, none is so pressing and demands an early settlement so much as counting the electoral vote. So little time is now allowed between the meeting of the electors and the count of the vote, and party excitement is then usually at fever heat, that in case of a close or controverted election, we may reasonably fear dangerous or disastrous results. It is indispensable that some mode should be adopted disposing of all litigated matters before the two Houses assemble to count the vote. There is no reason why Congress itself should not do this. It would be easy enough to bring all disputes, if any existed, before that body early in the session, and let them be settled if necessary to the exclusion of all other business. And when considered, let it be done as by the defunct twenty-second joint rule—"immediately and without debate"—but judicially, fully, and fairly. Take time to ascertain all the facts; allow reasonable debate. Congress meets the first Monday in December; the vote is not counted till February—a period ample to allow for the most complete and exhaustive examination of any and all questions likely to arise out of or touching a Presidential election.

Or, if deemed better, pass a law, providing, when any controversy arises, for the appointment by the joint vote of the two houses of Congress of a commission, say of nine persons, who shall immediately assemble and hear and determine, like a court, all points submitted to it. It can't be said now that this would be unconstitutional, because Congress set the precedent of delegating the decision of such questions when it constituted the Electoral Commission. The adoption of either plan would give opportunities for a full hearing, and leave to Congress, when the time for counting the vote arrived, only the duty of making a formal count and declaring the result.

Of the three departments of our Government, two—the legislative and judicial—are not required, either by the constitution, or the exigencies of the public service, to be always on duty. Congress only remains in session three months every second year. The courts have their regular terms, and their vacations, when they may be said to be in a dormant state. But not so with the Executive—it can't adjourn—its duties are constant, and there is not a day, not an hour, that it has not something to do. It, in an especial manner, needs to be complete and perfect in all its parts.

John W. Johnston

MY FIRST AND LAST SIGHT OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

There is no more vivid or apparently indelible impression on the tablet of my memory than my first and last sight of President Lincoln; and the circumstances connected therewith are equally well remembered. The first occasion was when he called on President Buchanan, in company with Senator Seward, on the 23d of February, 1861, and the last was when he excused himself from making a speech at the Executive Mansion on the evening of April 10, 1865, the next day after Lee's surrender.

It is generally known that Mr. Lincoln arrived in Washington, unannounced, several hours before he was expected by the public at large. It was supposed that he would rest at Harrisburg over night, and probably not more than three or four persons were cognizant of his intention to come directly through without stopping. Indeed, it was stated at the time that he kept this intention entirely to himself, but it was doubtless known to his traveling companions, Mr. Lammon, afterward Marshal of the District of Columbia, and Mr. E. J. Allen, as well as to Senator Seward. None of the railroad officials on the train, either from Harrisburg to Baltimore, or from Baltimore to Washington, knew he was on board. Great preparations for his reception had been made, both at Baltimore and Washington; and as late as eleven o'clock, after his arrival, in the morning of the 23d, active preparations were in progress to send the contemplated extra train for him to Baltimore. Shortly before six o'clock of that morning, somewhat to the wonder of the few around at that early hour, Senator Seward was seen waiting at Willard's Hotel, where rooms had been quietly engaged for Mr. Lincoln the previous day. He had not long to wait before Mr. Lincoln arrived, and was immediately escorted to his rooms by Mr. Seward, who left him alone for rest. At nine o'clock A.M., Mr. Lincoln received his breakfast in his private parlor, and his presence was so little known in the city that it was one o'clock in the afternoon before any callers came to see him.

About eleven in the morning, in company with Mr. Seward, Mr. Lincoln went to pay his respects to the President. There was a special meeting of the Cabinet that forenoon, and it was in session when the door-keeper came in and handed the President a card. With a look of pleasant surprise, Mr. Buchanan said, "Uncle Abe is down-stairs!" and immediately

went to meet him in the red room.* In the course of fifteen or twenty minutes he returned with Mr. Lincoln and Governor Seward, who were presented to the members of the Cabinet, and after a few minutes' conversation of no special importance, the visitors left to call on General Scott. Although I was living in Washington while Mr. Lincoln was a member of Congress, I had no recollection of having ever seen him before. I was at once struck by his tall, lank figure, towering, as it did, almost head and shoulders above Senator Seward, and even overtopping President Buchanan, as they entered the room. I was equally impressed, also, by his quiet, unaffected manner and placid disposition. I did not observe in him the least sign of nervousness or deep concern; and there is good reason to believe that, "with malice towards none, with charity for all," he felt confident of being able to gain the good-will of the Southern malcontents and of soon bringing the seceding States back to their proper relations in the Federal Government. The Peace Convention was then in session, and hopes of an amicable settlement had not yet been abandoned. But, alas! alas!! Instead of allowing wisdom to assert its control, the madness of folly bore sway, and for four long years the country was deluged in blood!

The news of Lee's surrender was received at the War Department just before nine o'clock Sunday evening, the 9th of April, 1865, and ere the dawn of day the citizens were awakened by the sound of cannon proclaiming the joyful tidings. Soon crowds of people, accompanied by bands of music, passed through the streets, singing the "Star-Spangled Banner," "Rally Round the Flag, Boys," and other patriotic songs. The courts met and adjourned, and nearly all business was suspended. The clerks in the various offices were dismissed for the day, and hundreds of them, augmented by throngs of other citizens, gathered on the south steps and sidewalk of the Interior Department, and unitedly raised their voices to the grand old tune of "Old Hundred" in singing

"Praise God from whom all blessings flow."

Never in my life had I heard those words sound so sweetly or seem to touch the heart so tenderly. I was on my way to the Post Office Department, where I found Postmaster-General Dennison in the main hall of the second story making a congratulatory address to a crowd assembled around him. About ten o'clock, a line, composed of nearly two thousand persons, mostly from the Navy Yard and vicinity, and constantly increasing, passed

*[The writer of this article was one of the members of President Buchanan's Cabinet at the time.—EDITOR.]

along Pennsylvania Avenue, headed by the Marine Band, and with two small howitzers in the rear, which were fired at intervals. On reaching the White House, after several airs by the band, loud calls were made for the President, when he shortly appeared at a front chamber window, and was greeted with hearty cheering. The band now struck up the stirring tune, "America," and was joined vocally in the words,

"My country, 'tis of thee I sing,"

by the assembled multitude. It was some minutes before order was restored, when, after a moment's stillness, Mr. Lincoln said :

"I am greatly rejoiced, my friends, that an occasion has occurred on which the people cannot restrain themselves. I suppose arrangements are being made to appropriately celebrate this glorious event this evening or to-morrow evening. I will have nothing to say then, if it is all dribbled out of me now. I see you have a band. I propose having this interview closed by the band performing a patriotic tune, which I will name. Before this is done, however, I wish to mention one or two little circumstances connected with it. I have always thought that '*Dixie*' was one of the best tunes I had ever heard. Our adversaries over the way, I know, have attempted to appropriate it. [Applause.] I referred the question to the Attorney-General, and he gives it as his legal opinion that it is now our property. [Laughter and applause.] I now ask the band to favor us with its performance."

The band responded most heartily, to the delight of all present, and the crowd proceeded to call on Secretary Stanton, who declined speaking on the plea of ill health. He, however, introduced General Halleck, who said :

"Always ready as I am to obey the orders of my superior officer, the Hon. Secretary of War, I hardly think he will go so far as to require me to become a stump-speaker. [Laughter, cheers, and cries, 'The people require it; it is a military necessity.'] Stump-speaking, my friends, is something in which I have never indulged. I can only say that our congratulations and thanks are due to General Grant and our brave generals and soldiers, in the field, for the great victory announced this morning, and for the blessing of peace, of which it is the harbinger." [Applause.]

Secretary Welles was next called on at his house, when he appeared and merely bowed his thanks for the honor. About five o'clock in the afternoon, several hundred persons assembled in and around the portico of the White House in expectation of a speech from the President. After repeated calls, Mr. Lincoln appeared at the centre window over the front

door, and, as soon as the cheering with which he was received ceased, he spoke substantially as follows :

"I appear, my friends, in response to your call, for the purpose of saying that if the present company have assembled by appointment, there is some mistake. More or less people have been gathered all day, and in the exuberance of good feeling—all of which was greatly justifiable—have called on me to say something. I have said what was proper to be said for the present. Some mistake has crept into the understanding, if you think a meeting was appointed for this evening. [Voices: 'We want to hear you now.'] I have appeared before larger audiences than the present during the day, and have said to them what I now desire to repeat. With reference to the great good news, I suppose there is to be some further demonstration, and perhaps to-morrow would suit me better than now, as in that case I should be better prepared. I would therefore say that I am willing, and hope to be ready, to say something then. [Applause.] Occupying the position I do, I think I ought to be particular, as all I say gets into print. A mistake hurts you and the country, and I try not to make mistakes. [A voice: 'You have never made any.'] If agreeable to have a general demonstration to-morrow evening, I will try and say something, in which, at least, I shall be careful to avoid making any mistakes."

Thanking those present for the call, the President bade them good-night, and retired amid the cheers of the assemblage. I never saw him again. Throughout this brief address his face wore a benignant and satisfied expression, which told plainly of the unspeakable relief the surrender of Lee had brought to him. I could but remark the great change from his usually sad look to one, I might say, almost angelic; and I am fortunate to possess his photograph taken while in this happy state of mind at that time. He delivered his contemplated speech to an immense crowd on the following evening—his last public address on earth.

Horatio King

PIUS IX. AND THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY

When the Confederate Government was founded at Montgomery, Alabama, its President, Jefferson Davis, appointed a joint commission to visit Europe and secure the recognition of the Confederate States by the European governments. It consisted of Wm. L. Yancey, Alabama's most gifted orator, Judge Rost, of Louisiana, and A. Dudley Mann. Of the three, Mr. Mann was most intimately connected with the results. To the younger generation Mr. Mann is probably unknown, as his public career ended with the downfall of the Confederacy. He was born in Virginia in 1801, and while still a boy accompanied his father to Kentucky. After a short course at West Point, he resigned and went to Washington in 1823, and there mingled with all the great statesmen of the time. In 1841, President Tyler sent him to Europe, as consul to Bremen. His next mission—from President Polk—was to arrange certain commercial treaties with the then independent German States; and at another time he was sent as confidential agent of the United States, at the moment when Hungary was struggling for her independence against the combined force of Russia and Austria. Mr. Mann's instructions gave him full power to recognize that independence, whenever he thought that such a recognition would be to the advantage of the country. He remained in Hungary until all hope of her ultimate success was gone, and then returned to Washington. On his return, the Austrian Government, through its minister, the Chevalier Hulseman, charged him with having been a spy, declaring that if he or any other American should dare to return to Hungary he would be treated as a spy, and punished accordingly. Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, came to the rescue, and ably defended Mr. Mann, declaring that the United States Government was ready to defend its position with every ship and every soldier at its disposal. The controversy ended with a letter from the Austrian Minister which Webster accepted as an apology. During President Taylor's administration, Mr. Mann was sent abroad to negotiate a treaty with Switzerland, in which he was eminently successful. He refused to accept an office from Buchanan and retired from active political life. Jefferson Davis sent for him and urged him to become one of the joint commission, and Mr. Mann accepted this responsible mission.

Shortly after their appointment, Mr. Yancey and Judge Rost, thinking they would have trouble if their voyage was delayed, sailed for Europe by way of New Orleans. Mr. Mann was strongly urged to follow their example, but he desired to see how matters were in Washington and sail from New York. His stay in Washington was fraught with danger, and his arrest was ordered by President Lincoln. Through the intercession of his friends, however, the order was canceled, but he was advised to leave Washington as soon as possible. This he did, reaching New York, where he saw many friends, who assured him there would be no war between the States. He sailed from New York on the *Europa*, March 30, 1861, and that was the last time he ever saw the United States. He arrived in London about a fortnight before his colleagues. When Mr. Yancey and Judge Rost arrived they sought an interview with the English Government, but succeeded only in meeting Lord Palmerston, Russell, and other members of the Parliament. The feeling in England they found to be favorable to the South, although there was no disposition to recognize the Confederacy. Mr. Mann discovered that the question of slavery did not "weigh a feather's weight in the scale." In France, the higher classes looked at the slavery question in the same light as did the English. Mr. Mann did not, however, visit France in his official capacity. He had no confidence in Louis Napoleon, as he thought he played throughout a double-faced policy on the American war question. But Mason and Slidell felt confident of persuading Napoleon to recognize the Confederacy.

With the arrival in London of Mason and Slidell, the joint commission was dissolved. Mr. Mason was assigned to duty in London, Mr. Slidell in Paris, Judge Rost in Spain, and Mr. Mann in Belgium and Central Europe. Mr. Yancey returned to America, and soon after entered the Confederate Senate from Alabama. Of all the commissioners, Mr. Mann succeeded the best. On arriving in Belgium, he found King Leopold cordially and favorably disposed toward the South—more so, in fact, than any other European ruler. But the general policy of all the continental governments at that time was to await the action of England and France. Mr. Mann had, also, a commission to Russia, but as he was not sanguine of success in that country, he did not go there. While in Belgium, he received a special commission to the government of the Pontifical States. This forms a most interesting chapter in the foreign diplomacy of the Confederacy. It is one concerning which the most contradictory statements have been given to the public. It is an event in which Mr. Mann played an important part, and his statements concerning it carry that weight which is due to authority only.

In 1862, his Holiness Pius IX. addressed open letters to the archbishops of New Orleans and New York, in which he urged them and their clergy to use all their efforts toward the restoration of peace and tranquillity in the United States. Jefferson Davis deemed it proper and politic to convey to his Holiness his own and the thanks of the people of the South for the sympathy, charity, and deep feeling which he displayed in his epistles. This letter Mr. Mann received while at Brussels, under date of the 23d of September. With it he received instructions from the Confederate State Department to proceed immediately to Rome and deliver it to the Pope, and also a commission from Mr. Davis appointing him a special envoy to the Holy See. In his letter to the Pontiff, Mr. Davis wrote that he was "deeply sensible of the Christian charity and sympathy with which his Holiness had twice appealed to the venerable clergy of his church, urging them to use and apply all study and exertion for the restoration of peace and tranquillity, and that he deemed it his duty to inform his Holiness that this people, at whose hearth-stones the enemy is now pressing with threats of dire oppression and merciless carnage, are now and ever have been earnestly desirous that this wicked war shall cease; that we have offered at the footstool of our Father who is in Heaven, prayers inspired by the same feeling which animate your Holiness; that we desire no evil to our enemies, nor do we covet any of their possessions; but we are only struggling to the end that they shall cease to devastate our land and inflict useless and cruel slaughter upon our people; and that we may be permitted to live at peace with all mankind under our own laws and institutions, which protect every man in the enjoyment, not only of his temporal rights, but in worshiping God according to his own faith." With this letter, Mr. Mann at once proceeded to Rome, reaching that city on the 9th of November. He sought and promptly obtained an interview with the Cardinal Secretary of State, Antonelli, to whom he made known the object of his mission. Politically, Antonelli was emphatically the State. He has been recognized as one of the best informed statesman of his time. His channels for obtaining intelligence from every quarter of the globe were more diversified and reliable than those of Louis Napoleon. His worst enemies, while claiming that he was utterly unscrupulous as to the means he employed, that he resorted to the most violent and perfidious measures as the surest means of accelerating the moment of deliverance and power, yet accorded to him abilities of the highest order. There can be little doubt that no other man could have saved the temporal power of the Pope as long as he saved it. Cool and judicious, courageous and resolute, he was eminently fitted to be ruler of any nation.

Cardinal Antonelli instantly assured Mr. Mann that he would obtain for him an audience with the Pontiff; he expressed his "unbounded admiration of the wonderful powers of resistance the Southern people had shown in a war prosecuted with energy and aided by the employment of all the recent improvements in the instruments for the destruction of life and property, unparalleled, perhaps, in the world's history." He asked Mr. Mann several questions concerning President Davis, remarking that he certainly had created for himself a name that would rank with those of the most illustrious statesmen of modern times. He expressed an earnest desire for the cessation of hostilities, and observed that there was nothing that the Holy See could do with propriety to bring about such a result that it was not ready and prepared to do.

Two days after his interview with Cardinal Antonelli, Mr. Mann received formal notification that the Pontiff would receive him the following day at noon, and that his own secretary, Mr. Grayson Mann, could assist at the audience. Accordingly, at the time appointed they proceeded to the Vatican, and were at once conducted to the presence of his Holiness. They were graciously welcomed by him and a spirited conference ensued. The Pope remarked that he had been so afflicted by the horrors of the war in the United States that he was constrained to write to the archbishops of New Orleans and New York, urging them to use all their influence in bringing about as speedy as possible a termination of the hostilities between the North and South. Mr. Mann, with a few prefatory remarks, proffered the letter from Mr. Davis to the Pope, who took it, looked for a moment at the address, then at the seal, and, finally taking up his shears, cut the envelope. After glancing at it he remarked:

"I see it is in English—a language which I do not understand."

"If it will be agreeable to your Holiness," replied Mr. Mann, "my secretary will interpret its contents to you."

The Pope cordially acquiesced, and the translation was made in French, during which Mr. Mann carefully watched the countenance of the Pontiff. How he was impressed may be given best in Mr. Mann's own words:

"A sweeter expression of pious affection, of tender benignity never adorned the face of mortal man. No picture can adequately represent him when exclusively absorbed in Christian contemplation. Every sentence of the letter appeared to sensibly affect him; at the conclusion of each he would lay his hand upon the desk and bow his head approvingly. When the passage was reached wherein Mr. Davis stated in such sublime and affecting language, 'that we have offered up at the footstool of our Father who is in Heaven, prayers inspired by the same feelings which animate your

Holiness,' his deep sunken orbs visibly moistened and were upturned toward that throne on which ever sits the Prince of Peace. The soul of infidelity—if indeed infidelity have a soul—would have melted at sight of so sacred a spectacle." At the conclusion of the translation there was a pause for some minutes, which was broken by the Pope inquiring whether Mr. Davis was a Catholic. He was answered in the negative. He then asked Mr. Mann if he was a Catholic, and was told that he was not. His Holiness then turned the conversation on the war, remarking that the Northern Government had endeavored to create an impression abroad that they were fighting for the abolition of slavery, and perhaps it might be judicious to consent to gradual emancipation. Mr. Mann replied that the subject of slavery was one over which the government of the Confederate States, like that of the United States, had no control whatever; that all ameliorations with regard to the institution must proceed from the states themselves, which were as sovereign in their character in this respect as Great Britain, France, or any other power; that true philanthropy shuddered at the thought of the liberation of the slave in the manner attempted by the North; that such a procedure would be practically to convert the well-cared-for civilized negro into a semi-barbarian; that such of the slaves as had been captured or decoyed were in an incomparably worse condition than while in the service of their masters; that they wished to return to their old homes, the love of which was the strongest of their affections; that if, indeed, African slavery was an evil, there was a power which in its own good time would doubtless remove that evil in a more gentle manner than that of causing the earth to be deluged with blood for its sudden overthrow.

After a lapse of twenty-three years, we can see how the sentiments embodied in this answer seem altogether unfounded. They, however, were received by the Pope with an approving expression, who remarked that Mr. Mann had reason to be proud of the self-sacrificing devotion of his countrymen to the cause for which they were contending. "The most ample reason," Mr. Mann replied, "and yet scarcely so much as of my countrywomen whose sorrows and privations, whose transformation, in many instances, from luxury to penury are unparalleled, and could not be adequately described by any living language. What they were in the commencement they still are, more resolute if possible, than ever, emulating in their devotion to the cause—earthly though it was in its character—those holy spirits who were the last at the cross and the first at the sepulchre." His Holiness received this statement with evident satisfaction, and said he would like to do anything that could effectually be done, or

that even promised good results, to aid in putting an end to a most terrible war which was harming the good of all the earth, if he only knew how to proceed. After a little more conversation, the Pope said :

" I will write a letter for you to convey to Mr. Davis of such a character that it may be published for general perusal." " I expressed my heartfelt gratification at this promise," writes Mr. Mann, " and that terminated one of the most remarkable conferences that ever a foreign representative had with one of the potentates of this earth. Even after this lapse of time, I cannot help but think how majestic was the conduct of the government of the Pontifical States in its bearing toward me, when contrasted with the sneaking subterfuges to which the other European governments had recourse in order to evade intercourse with our commissioners."

The Pope was true to his words. A few days after the conference, Cardinal Antonelli transmitted to Mr. Mann the Pope's answer to Mr. Davis. It was written in the Latin language, of which a version was made as follows :

" To the Illustrious and Honorable Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America :

" *Illustrious and Honorable Sir*—GREETING : We recently received, with all the kindness due to him, the envoy sent by your Excellency to convey to us your letter dated the 23d of the month of September of the present year. It was certainly a cause of no ordinary rejoicing to us to be informed by this gentleman and by the letter of your Excellency, of the lively satisfaction you experienced and of the deep sense of gratitude you entertain toward us. Illustrious and honorable Sir, when you first perused Our letters addressed to those Venerable Brothers, John, Archbishop of New York, and John, Archbishop of New Orleans, on the 18th of October of last year, in which we again and again strongly urged and exhorted those Venerable Brothers, on account of their great piety and episcopal solicitude, to make it the object of their constant efforts and of their earnest study, acting thus in Our name, to put an early end to that fatal civil war prevailing in that country, and to re-establish among the American people peace and concord, as well as feelings of mutual charity and love. It was peculiarly gratifying to Us to hear, that you, illustrious and honorable sir, as well as the people whom you govern, are animated by the same desire for peace and tranquillity which We so earnestly inculcated in the letters referred to, addressed to the said Venerable Brothers. Would to God that the other inhabitants of those regions (the Northern people) and their rulers, seriously reflecting upon the fearful nature of intestine warfare, might in a dispassionate mood hearken to and adopt the counsels of

peace! We on Our part shall not cease offering up Our most fervent prayers to Almighty God, begging and supplicating Him in His goodness to pour out upon all the people of America a spirit of Christian charity and peace, and to rescue them from the multitudes of evil now afflicting them. We also pray the same all-clement Lord of Mercies to shine upon your Excellency the light of his divine grace, and to unite you and Ourselves in bonds of perfect love. Given at Rome at St. Peter's, the 3d day of December, 1863, in the Eighteenth year of our Pontificate." (Signed) Pius, P. P. IX.

His mission being thus successfully accomplished, Mr. Mann concluded to return to London. Before leaving Rome he had a second interview with Cardinal Antonelli. Although he intended it to be a short one, the Cardinal became so much interested in the communications which Mr. Mann made to him that it was prolonged for nearly an hour. In the course of the conference, the Cardinal informed Mr. Mann that the acting representative of the United States had seen him the day before in order to remonstrate against the facilities afforded by the government of the Holy See to "rebels" for entering and sojourning in Rome. The Cardinal said he had replied, that he intended to take all such "rebels" under his special protection, because it would be asking too much of humanity to expect them to take an oath of allegiance to a country they bitterly detested. Frequently he would take Mr. Mann's hand and exclaim: "Mon cher monsieur, your Government has accomplished prodigies alike in the Cabinet and in the field."

Along with the Pontiff's letter to Mr. Davis, Mr. Mann sent the following dispatch to the late Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of State: "The Cardinal Secretary of State, Antonelli, officially transmitted to me yesterday the answer of the Pope to the President. In the very direction of this communication there is a positive recognition of our Government. It is addressed 'To the Illustrious and Honorable Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America.' Thus we are acknowledged by as high authority as this world contains to be an independent power of the earth. I congratulate you. I congratulate the President. I congratulate his Cabinet; in short, I congratulate all my true-hearted countrymen and countrywomen upon this benign event. The hand of the Lord has been in it, and eternal glory and praises be to His holy and righteous name. The example of the Sovereign Pontiff, if I am not mistaken, will exercise a salutary influence upon both the Catholic and Protestant governments of western Europe. Humanity will be aroused everywhere to the importance of its earnest emulation. I have studiously endeavored to prevent the

appearance of any telegraphic or other communications in the newspapers in relation to my mission. The nature of it is, however, generally known in official circles here, and it has been mentioned in one or two journals here. The letters, in my opinion, ought to be officially published at Richmond under a call for the correspondence by one or the other branch of Congress. In the meantime I shall communicate to the European press, probably through the medium of the *London Times*, the substance of the letters. I regard such a procedure as of primary importance in view of the interests of peace, and I am quite sure that the Holy Father would rejoice at seeing those interests benefited in this or any other effective manner."

Whether the other leaders of the Confederacy interpreted the Pope's letter in the same way, and attached the same value to it as exercising a salutary influence upon the European governments in their bearing toward the South is not known. Mr. Davis was not heard from officially on the subject. Perhaps the only exception was the Secretary of State, Judah P. Benjamin. In a letter to Mr. Mann, he maintained that the best influence of the Pope's letter would be, no doubt, to produce a check to the foreign enlistments made by the United States; that as a recognition of the Confederate States, it was of little value, being a mere inferential recognition, unconnected with political action or the regular establishment of diplomatic relations, possessing none of the moral weight required for awakening the people of the United States from their delusion that those States still remain members of the old Union; and that the Pope's address to Mr. Davis as "President of the Confederate States" was a mere formula of politeness to his correspondent, not a political recognition of the fact.

Such was the opinion of a great lawyer and statesman. The facts of the case have been given, and now that a decade has passed, it remains for the public to judge for themselves whether the epistle of Pope Pius IX. to Jefferson Davis was a recognition of the Confederacy.

J. Algernon Peters.

FROM CEDAR MOUNTAIN TO CHANTILLY *

I

ALONG THE RAPPAHANNOCK

THE withdrawal of Jackson behind the Rapidan left our cavalry corps free to re-occupy the positions it had held prior to the Cedar Mountain battle, and accordingly its line of outposts was again extended from Raccoon Ford to the Blue Ridge. On the 14th of August, General Pope was joined at Culpeper Court House by General Reno with his own and Stevens' Division, of Burnside's Corps, which had been called from North Carolina, and had arrived by way of Newport News and Acquia Creek. These two divisions, eight thousand strong, were Pope's first re-inforcement. Jackson's retrograde movement was followed up as far as Robertson River by the First Corps, under Sigel, whose command in its new position held the right, while McDowell's, at Cedar Mountain, held the center, Reno's, at Raccoon Ford, the left, and Banks', at Culpeper, the reserve of the Army of Virginia.

By this time General Lee's forces disengaged at Richmond were pushing rapidly northward. His army had been organized into two grand divisions or wings—right and left—and had an effective force variously estimated at from 55,000 to 65,000 men. Its right wing, under Longstreet, was already at Gordonsville, ten miles south of the Rapidan, and was joined there, August 15, by General Lee in person. The left wing (Jackson's Corps) had preceded the right in this movement just a month, and now held the south bank of the Rapidan River.† General Pope's position between the Rapidan and the Rappahannock was an indefensible one, inviting attack. His only line of railway communication extended across the enemy's line of advance, and was greatly exposed to hostile forays. Nevertheless, he was disposed to hold his advanced position as long as possible in order to gain time for the withdrawal of the Army of the Poto-

† The itinerary of General Lee's northward movement up to this time may be thus summarized: Jackson, with two divisions—his own and Ewell's—was ordered to Gordonsville, July 13; arrived there and established outposts on the Rapidan, July 19; was joined by A. P. Hill's Division, July 27; advanced across the Rapidan, August 8; fought at Cedar Mountain, August 9; returned to the Rapidan, August 11 and 12; the infantry divisions of Longstreet, Hood, and R. H. Anderson, and the main body of Stuart's cavalry were ordered to Gordonsville, August 13. Lee arrived there August 15, and was joined by most of the remainder of his veteran troops still at Richmond about the time McClellan disappeared from Harrison's Landing.

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mac from the Peninsula, and its approach as then intended, by way of Acquia Creek and Falmouth.

General Lee, impatient to assail Pope before he could be re-inforced, and hoping to catch him between the two rivers, assembled his army on the south bank of the Rapidan from Raccoon Ford to Liberty Mills, ready for a sudden push northward. His plan and orders given were to cross the Rapidan on the 18th of August, but his movement was delayed until the 20th. Meanwhile General Pope was warned by a lucky chance of the designs against him. A cavalry expedition which he had sent out on the 16th toward Louisa Court House captured on the person of General J. E. B. Stuart's adjutant-general an autograph letter of Lee's dated at Gordonsville, August 15, betraying his purposes. Pope lost no time in profiting by this information, and gave orders for the immediate withdrawal of his army behind the Rappahannock, the line of which he was instructed to defend. The wagon trains were first put in motion, and preceded the troops, those of Reno moving by way of Stevensburg to Kelly's Ford, and those of Banks and McDowell crossing the Rappahannock at the point where that river is intersected by the Orange and Alexandria railroad. Sigel, having occupied the most westerly position, was ordered to move by way of Culpeper and Jefferson, and cross the Rappahannock at White Sulphur Springs. By these routes the different columns, screened by the cavalry, withdrew rapidly to their new defensive position.

From the beginning of this retrograde movement until its end at the close of the campaign, the enormous baggage and supply trains accompanying the army were a troublesome encumbrance. To dispose of and protect them without hinderance to the rapid and intricate movements of the troops required much skill and forecast. Unfortunately our regiments had not yet learned how to get along with a minimum allowance of baggage, or no baggage at all, and the proportion of wheels carried was much greater than was customary later in the war.

Sigel's movement from Robertson River began on the 17th, and during the whole of the following night Milroy's brigade, which followed the First Corps trains, waited for them to get on the road. Time and again during the night the brigade quitted its bivouacs, expecting to begin its march, but had to return to its camp-fires and smother its impatience. There seemed to be no end to the sluggish caravan, and the sun was already up when the column got fairly into motion.

At noon we reached the Cedar Mountain battle-field, and at dusk marched once more through the sullenly secession town of Culpeper. The movement continued far into the night, and was resumed early the

following morning. The weather was still fiercely hot. At evening, on the 19th, Sigel's Corps reached Warrenton, Sulphur Springs, and there crossed the Rappahannock. Next morning, by Pope's order, it reversed its course, and moved down the left bank of the river, until it joined the right of McDowell's Corps, which, in turn, connected with the forces of Reno, who had crossed the day before at Kelly's Ford. The entire body of cavalry was sent to the right of Sigel to watch the enemy's movements and picket the line of the Rappahannock, which, in its upper part, is but an inconsiderable stream, offering no serious obstacle to the advance of an army.

Thus General Pope nimbly escaped from the trap laid for him, much to the chagrin, no doubt, of the Confederate commander, who was prompt, however, to follow up our movement, and early on the 20th attacked and drove in our pickets. The position of our army was now a strong one, as against front attack, and the enemy, not being able to force a passage of the river without great loss, contented himself with heavy skirmishing and artillery dueling through the 20th. By night-fall the bulk of Lee's forces had been brought up from the Rapidan, and confronted Pope's new position from his extreme left at Kelly's Ford to a point beyond his extreme right, which rested about three miles above Rappahannock station.

It was now manifest that unless Pope should be largely re-inforced, or should withdraw from the line of the Rappahannock, he could not prevent the enemy from turning his right by way of Sulphur Springs, and marching on Warrenton, from whence a good turnpike leads directly to Washington. Obviously intending a movement of this kind, Lee's column pushed steadily on up the west bank of the river. Pope, it should be borne in mind, was still under orders to keep himself in close communication with Fredericksburg, from whence the Army of the Potomac was expected to approach after landing at Acquia Creek. These instructions were coupled with positive assurances that all necessary help would be given for carrying them into execution, as witness the following, dispatched to Pope on the 18th by General Halleck from Washington:

"I fully approve your movement. I hope to push Burnside's forces to near Barnett's Ford by to-morrow night, to assist you in holding that pass. *Stand firm on the line of the Rappahannock till I can help you. Fight hard, and aid will soon come.*"

And this, on the 21st:

"I have telegraphed General Burnside to know at what hour he can re-inforce Reno. Am waiting his answer. *Every effort must be made to hold the Rappahannock. Large forces will be in to-morrow.*"

And this, later on the same day:

"I have just sent General Burnside's reply. General Cox's forces are coming in from Parkersburg, and will be here to-morrow or next day. Dispute every inch of ground, and fight like the devil until we can reinforce you. *Forty-eight hours more and we can make you strong enough.* Don't yield an inch if you can help it."

These instructions and promises of Halleck, of course, implied and anticipated the speedy arrival of the Army of the Potomac. The order for the withdrawal of that army from the Peninsula was given on the 4th of August. It was directed to proceed to Fortress Monroe, and thence by transports up the Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac River to the Accquia Creek landing. After much hesitation, General McClellan began embarking his forces at Harrison's Bar, as if intending to carry his whole command—sick, cavalry and all—from that point by water. Impelled from Washington, he marched the bulk of his forces by land to Fortress Monroe, but the last of his army did not get away from Harrison's Bar until the 16th of August. Meanwhile, as early as the 13th, Lee had started Longstreet's Corps by rail for Gordonsville. Thus the enemy had ample time and opportunity to make his concentration in front of Pope, for the moment the Army of the Potomac set out for Fortress Monroe it was completely "put out of the fight." During the period of its transit northward from the James River and to the front, lasting from ten to fifteen days, its military potentiality ceased to exist. Moreover, by taking a roundabout course on transports, instead of marching directly northward overland, as Sherman afterward did through the Carolinas, instead of embarking his army, as requested, at Savannah, the troops became separated from their wagon transportation, and were obliged to go to the front scantily supplied with food and ammunition.

General Pope's estimate of his effective force at this time, after allowing for losses by fighting and sickness, is 40,000 men. Probably it did not exceed 45,000, including Reno's two divisions. Most of our troops were constantly in motion or under fire, and owing to their perpetual changes of position were imperfectly fed. It was very difficult to keep the supply trains within reach and yet out of the way of the shifting columns. The troops, therefore, often went hungry simply because the quartermasters could not follow or find them. Along the river the skirmish firing was incessant, and from the heights on the opposite banks the batteries hammered each other with unflagging persistency.

On the 20th, Pope was confronted from Kelly's Ford northward by Longstreet, and farther up, toward Beverly Ford, by Jackson. The rail-

way crossing at Rappahannock Station was still in our possession, with a *tête-de-pont* on the south bank of the Rappahannock held by a brigade. On the 21st, the enemy extended his left still farther northward, his infantry and artillery often moving in plain view of ours on the hills skirting the west bank of the river. Nevertheless a strong show of force continued to be made in front of our own left, in the vicinity of Rappahannock Station.

FREEMAN'S FORD

On the 22d Jackson, holding the Confederate left, moved up the west bank of the river as far as Warrenton Sulphur Springs, and there threw across one of his brigades (Early's), which advanced to a position behind Great Run. Sigel, holding our right with the First Corps, made a corresponding movement along the east bank, and at Freeman's Ford sent across the Seventy-fourth Pennsylvania, Colonel Schimmelpfennig, to reconnoiter. Part of Sigel's artillery, including Buell's, Dilger's, and Wiedrich's batteries, had meanwhile been hotly engaged at the Ford, and Captain Frank Buell, a valuable officer of the First West Virginia Artillery, had been killed.

The river was, at this point, about 250 yards wide, and waist deep. Having gained the west bank by fording, Schimmelpfennig captured some wagons and stragglers, and discovered a Confederate force marching parallel to the river with its flank and wagon trains exposed. Reporting these facts, he asked for re-inforcements, and accordingly General Bohlen led over his remaining regiments—the Eighth West Virginia and Sixty-first Ohio. General Schurz, commanding the division, and Captains Spraul and Tiedemann, of his staff, accompanied the movement. Sigel deemed this a good opportunity to cut Lee's army in two,* and was about to follow Schurz with the entire First Corps, when he found that the river was rising, and that his pontoon train—the only one in the army—had been ordered away by General McDowell.

Bohlen attacked vigorously and at first successfully, but he was soon fiercely assailed, in turn, by Trimble's heavy brigade, covering Jackson's rear, and by Hood, who was commanding Longstreet's advance. Under the impetus of this counter attack the Eighth West Virginia broke in disorder, but the Seventy-fourth Pennsylvania and the Sixty-first Ohio—

* That Sigel did not misjudge the situation, and his opportunity, appears from the report of General Trimble, commanding the Confederate force attacked, who says: "As General Ewell's Division was *five or six miles in advance* and General Longstreet's Division *the same distance in the rear*, I deemed it most prudent to hold my brigade on the defensive and endeavor to protect the trains."

the latter led with conspicuous gallantry by Lieutenant-Colonel McGroarty—held their ground stubbornly, and with beating drums and loud cheers renewed the fight. It was not possible, however, for such an unequal contest to last long, nor was it prudent that so small a force as Bohlen's should longer remain detached from the main body, especially as a heavy rain was falling and rapidly increasing the depth of the river. Our troops therefore withdrew, fighting, to the Ford. Covered by our batteries, and by the musketry fire of Milroy's and McLean's brigades, the entire reconnoitering party recrossed to the east bank, though not without some casualties by drowning. During the movement back to the river, and while bravely rallying and directing his men, Brigadier-General Henry Bohlen, an officer of rare ability and accomplishments, fell from his horse mortally wounded. His body was recovered after the fight under flag of truce. Our loss in this affair was about 200 in killed and wounded.*

Sigel was now very anxious, as he had reason to be, about his exposed right flank, and expressed his apprehensions to Pope, who (at 6.30 P. M., 22d) telegraphed from Rappahannock Station to Halleck:

"Everything indicates clearly to me that the enemy's movement will be upon Warrenton, by way of Sulphur Springs. If I could know with anything like certainty by what time to expect troops that are starting from Alexandria, I could act more understandingly. I have not heard of the arrival of any of the forces from Fredericksburg at the fords below, though I have withdrawn nearly the whole of Reno's forces from Kelly's Ford. I cannot move against Sulphur Springs just now without exposing my rear to the heavy force in front of me, and having my communication with the forces coming up the Rappahannock intercepted, and most likely the railroad destroyed. I think it altogether well to bring Franklin's force to Alexandria. Lee made his head-quarters at Culpeper last night. He has the whole of his army in front of me. Its numbers you can estimate as well as myself. As soon as his plans are fully developed I shall be ready to act."

Three hours later Pope telegraphed again to Halleck:

* General Trimble conveys the impression in his report that our loss was much greater. He says: "Our men pursued them closely, and slaughtered great numbers as they waded the river or climbed up the opposite bank. The water was literally covered with dead and wounded."

Trimble further says: "The battle lasted two hours, during which time we drove the enemy one mile." This certainly does not speak badly for the resistance made by Bohlen's little force, for General Hood, who re-inforced Trimble, says in his report: "On my arrival . . . the Texas Brigade being placed on the [Trimble's] right and Colonel Law's on the left, the attack was made at once, General Trimble leading off in the center." Three brigades against three regiments.

"Reports from our forces* near Sulphur Springs just in. Enemy was crossing the river to-day at Sulphur Springs, and on the road from Warrenton to Sperryville. He is still in heavy force at Rappahannock Ford, and above, and my rear is entirely exposed if I move toward Sulphur Springs or Warrenton. I must do one of two things—either fall back and meet Heintzelman† behind Cedar Run‡ or cross the Rappahannock with my whole force, and assail the enemy's flank and rear. I must do one or the other at daylight. Which shall it be? I incline to the latter, but don't wish to interfere with your plans."

To this came the following response, dated August 22, 11 P.M.:

"I think the latter of your two propositions the best. I also think you had better stop Heintzelman's Corps, and the troops of Sturgis and Cox [the latter coming from the Kanawha Valley, the former from Alexandria] as they arrive to-morrow, at Warrenton Junction, instead of taking them to Bealton."

From these dispatches it will be seen that Pope, re-assured from Washington, clung to his expectations of immediate re-inforcement, and that Halleck, encouraging, and himself cherishing this illusion, still inculcated the idea that the Army of Virginia must hold, at all hazards, the line of the Rappahannock. Pope therefore, upon receiving Halleck's answer, resolved to mass his entire force, recross the river by the bridges and fords at Rappahannock Station and Kelly's Ford below, and fall with all his strength upon the flank and rear of the enemy. The chances for the success of this venture were exceedingly few, and its result would probably have been to place both the Rappahannock River and Lee's army between ours and Washington. Fortunately, it was never attempted. During the night a heavy rain-storm set in which caused a rise of six or eight feet in the river, sweeping away the bridges and drowning the fords. The intended movement was thus rendered impracticable, and at the same time a formidable barrier was interposed to the advance of the enemy.

During this same night of the 22d, while Pope was preparing to fall upon the rear of Lee's army, a demonstration was made in his own rear by General J. E. B. Stuart with a Confederate force of 1,500 cavalry and two guns. Passing our right flank by way of Waterloo Bridge and War-

* Sigel's Corps.

† Heintzelman's Corps, of two divisions—Hooker's and Kearny—from the Army of the Potomac. General Pope estimates the strength of this corps at about 10,000. It did not join Pope until August 25.

‡ Cedar Run is a tributary of the Occoquan, with which it unites about twenty miles from Alexandria.

renton, Stuart, in the midst of a furious rain-storm and pitch darkness, surprised Pope's head-quarters train at Catlett's Station, destroyed a few wagons, and set fire to the railway bridge over Cedar Run. Fortunately, the rain put out the fire and saved the bridge. At the time of this raid most of the wagon trains of Pope's army were at or near Catlett's, and were under guard of not less than 1,500 infantry and five companies of cavalry. The shameful negligence of this guard in allowing itself to be surprised needs no comment, and the fact that such a raid as Stuart's was possible tells its own story of the illusive expectation that McClellan's army would by this time be near enough to protect our line of communications.

Having been thwarted, for the time being, in his intended movement to the left, Pope now, as was more prudent, directed his attention to his right. Sigel, convinced that the enemy had outflanked us near the Sulphur Springs crossing, proposed to withdraw his corps to Beverly Ford or Bealton, with a view to concentrating the army in that vicinity. Adopting just the reverse course, Pope directed Sigel (at 7.15 A.M., 23d) to march upon Sulphur Springs, attack and beat whatever opposing force he might encounter, and push along the river to Waterloo Bridge. Banks' Corps was ordered to support Sigel's in this movement, and McDowell's Corps, augmented by the Pennsylvania Reserves* under General Reynolds, moved on Warrenton, whither Pope, first ordering that the bridge be destroyed and the works abandoned at Rappahannock Station, directed his own course.

GREAT RUN CREEK

During the afternoon of the 23d, McDowell's advance, accompanied by Pope, occupied Warrenton, which place Stuart's cavalry had quitted a few hours before. Sigel did not get along so smoothly. Late in the afternoon his advance, held as usual by the impetuous Milroy, came upon Early's Brigade in the vicinity of Great Run Creek, and a sharp action ensued, lasting until after dark. During the night the Confederates withdrew across the bridge, burning the bridge. Next morning Sigel crossed Great Run, and, with his entire corps drawn up in line of battle, moved toward Sulphur Springs. No enemy was discovered, for Early, who had been, as he thought, in a position of great peril, had decamped and recrossed the Rappahannock. However, as our lines moved down the slope toward the

* A division of three brigades under Brigadier-general John F. Reynolds. This division, 2,500 strong, arrived from Acquia Creek on the 23d, and was the first re-inforcement received by General Pope from the Army of the Potomac.

Springs, a heavy fire was opened upon them from the Confederate batteries which had been posted all along the west bank of the river. Milroy, who was leading, discovered the enemy in strong force holding the bridge near the Springs, and made dispositions to attack. Sigel, having learned what his frantic subordinate was about, was much vexed, and sent him a peremptory order to "let the bridge alone," and push on toward Waterloo, as he had been instructed to do. Milroy, somewhat crest-fallen, obeyed, and arrived at Waterloo late in the afternoon.

WATERLOO BRIDGE

Buford's cavalry, which had preceded us, had attempted to burn the Waterloo Bridge, and had failed. Something was therefore left for the impetuous Milroy to do which was worthy of his rash and adventurous temper. A strong Confederate force held the high ground on the west bank of the river, and their sharp-shooters made it exceedingly interesting for any one attempting to approach the bridge from our side. However, Milroy's marksmen were tolerably expert in this business, and they soon made it exceedingly interesting for the Confederates. In the Eighty-second Ohio regiment were many hardy deer-hunters and pioneers who were very skillful with the rifle, and to that regiment, under Colonel Cantwell, was confided the perilous duty of setting the bridge on fire. Supported by a furious fusillade of musketry and artillery, some platoons of picked men from the Eighty-second dashed forward to the river, followed by fatigue parties carrying bundles of combustible matter. Amidst a wild tumult of arms the bridge was reached, and in a twinkling fired. A column of smoke and flame, and the cheers of our troops, announced the success of this brave exploit. The destruction of the bridge took place during the afternoon of the 25th.

During the night of the 24th our army was situated as follows: Sigel's Corps extended along the river from Waterloo toward Sulphur Springs; Reno's, near the Springs; Reynold's division, at Warrenton; Ricketts', four miles east of Waterloo, on the Warrenton road; and King's division, between Sulphur Springs and Warrenton.

These dispositions were modified by an order of General Pope's, issued early on the 25th, having in view the formation of a new line of battle extending from Warrenton to Kelly's Ford *via* Bealton. In the meantime, Sigel's situation on the river had become one which caused him great anxiety, and the contradictory and confusing instructions given him aggravated his uneasiness. During the night of the 24th he received an order to move to Fayetteville, so as to take his position on the new line of

battle, but on the morning of the 25th he was directed by General Roberts, Pope's chief of staff, to hold Waterloo Bridge at all hazards. With this latter order the assurance was given to Sigel that he would be supported by McDowell and Buford on the right, and by Banks and Reno on the left. Soon after these instructions and assurances were given the enemy made a strong demonstration at Waterloo Bridge and vicinity, as though he meant to force a crossing. Sigel was alarmed, and looking around for the supports promised him, found they were wanting. Confronted by an enemy of twice his strength, he stood isolated and alone. He discovered that the enemy's cavalry had crossed the river on both his flanks, while before him were twenty-eight regiments of Confederate infantry, with six batteries of artillery and considerable cavalry. At the same time he observed the movement of a large body of the enemy toward his right. Sigel reported to Pope that he believed the enemy to be advancing upon him in force, and received no response. Then came from McDowell (at that time commanding the right wing) a dispatch directed partly to Banks inquiring as to his (Banks') corps, and partly to Sigel directing him to move to Fayetteville. Now, to withdraw in the presence of a formidable foe in broad daylight is a perilous undertaking. Sigel therefore decided to remain where he was until night-fall and then march to Fayetteville, although he did not consider this last a wise thing to do. Meanwhile, a detachment of cavalry which he had sent to Sulphur Springs, under Colonel Beardsley, routed the enemy there, and either by its own cannonade or by that which it provoked, set fire to that village.

At night-fall, just as Sigel was about to set out for Fayetteville, as instructed, he received an order to march to Warrenton. This latter order he put into execution at once. Cautiously the First Corps withdrew from the river, and then marched nearly all night. About three o'clock in the morning the head of column was approaching Warrenton, when Sigel, to his great consternation, was overtaken by an order to force a passage at Waterloo Bridge (which had been burned), and see what was in front of him! This order had been issued by Pope the evening before. Let us trace its history and the reasons which had prompted it.

Up to this time our army had baffled all attempts of the enemy to pass the line of the Rappahannock. As late as the afternoon of the 24th General Pope had not abandoned the idea of holding that line, for he then telegraphed to Halleck his intention of sending a considerable part of his force back to Rappahannock Station. But a crisis was at hand requiring that other plans should be considered. Longstreet's Corps, having arrived from below, made its appearance before Waterloo and relieved Jackson,

who adroitly withdrew westward toward Jefferson. These, in part, were the movements which had alarmed Sigel. Next day (25th) our Signal Corps, from its stations on the high points along the Rappahannock, observed the mysterious departure from the head of Lee's column. A large detachment of the enemy, comprising thirty-six regiments of infantry, with the usual proportion of artillery and cavalry, was seen moving off to the northward, and then inclining to the east in the direction of Salem. For hours the signals reported the movements of this strange detachment, until, at length, it disappeared beyond the farthest range of vision. What did it mean?

When General Pope, apprehending that the enemy intended turning his right, suddenly reversed his purpose of recrossing the Rappahannock by the left, and moved his entire army toward Warrenton, he evidently expected serious resistance in that quarter. But this expectation was not realized. The Confederate force (Early's brigade) which had crossed the river at Sulphur Springs had easily been compelled to recross to the west bank, and now that this supposed flanking movement was thwarted, and appeared to be a feint, what could be the purpose of this new expedition?

General Banks, watching it through the eyes of his signal officer, and perhaps with the memory of Winchester fresh in his mind, reported to Pope August 25, 11.25 A.M. as follows:

"It seems to me apparent that the enemy is threatening or moving upon the Valley of the Shenandoah *via* Front Royal, with designs upon the Potomac—possibly beyond."

And so Pope, at Warrenton Junction, sent to Sigel, at 9.30 P.M., August 25, the following ill-tempered and ill-timed dispatch, already referred to:

"You will force the passage of the river at Waterloo Bridge to-morrow morning at daylight, and see what is in front of you. *I do not believe there is any enemy in force there, but do believe that the whole of their army has marched west and north-west.* I am not satisfied either with your reports or your operations of to-day, and expect to hear to-morrow early something more satisfactory concerning the enemy."

At the same hour Pope dispatched to General McDowell:

"*I believe that the whole force of the enemy has marched for the Shenandoah Valley by way of Luray and Front Royal.* The column which has marched to-day toward Gaines' Cross Roads has turned north, and when last seen was passing under the east base of Buck Mountain, toward Salem and Rectortown. I desire you, as early as possible in the morning, holding Reynolds in reserve at Warrenton or vicinity, to make a reconnois-

sance with your whole corps, and ascertain what is beyond the river at Sulphur Springs."

Inasmuch as Sigel had already quitted the river, as repeatedly ordered to do, and his troops were much fatigued with their all-night march, these reconnoissances were made by King's division and Buford's cavalry, under the direction of General McDowell. They developed the enemy's main force still in front of Waterloo Bridge and Sulphur Springs, where General Sigel had truthfully reported it to be. The belief that Lee's whole army had marched off toward the Shenandoah Valley was therefore a delusion. But how about the northward-moving detachment? Where did that go?

THE MYSTERY SOLVED •

The mysterious column was Stonewall Jackson's. Shot like an arrow from Lee's extended line, it swept northward as if aiming, as Generals Pope and Banks believed, for Front Royal, the Potomac, and "possibly beyond," but really making for a widely different destination. Its movement is thus graphically described by a Southern writer:*

"The famous foot cavalry were now called upon to put forth their utmost strength. A long and exhausting march was before them; every moment was precious; Thoroughfare Gap must be reached before the enemy arrived, and the ordinary rules of marching must be changed. So, though recognizing the maxim, that wherever two men can place their feet an army can move, Jackson pushed on beneath the shadow of the Blue Ridge, 'across open fields,' declares one of his men, 'by strange country roads, by a little town in Fauquier called Orleans, on and on, as if he would never cease.' . . . The troops were not permitted to pause for an instant; weary, foot-sore, almost without food, they were still marched steadily forward, and at night, worn out but gay, hungry but full of enthusiasm, they bivouacked near the town of Salem on the Manassas Gap railroad."

. . . "Reaching Salem at midnight, the troops were again in motion at daylight, and passing crowds all welcoming, cheering, staring with blank amazement at the sight of the Confederate troops in that region, pressed on through the plains to Thoroughfare Gap. The mountain gorge was undefended, the enemy had been 'headed off;' and passing rapidly between the frowning ramparts with their belts of dusky pines, Jackson, with his army hungry and exhausted, but resolute as ever, descended like a hawk upon Manassas."

* John Esten Cooke, of General J. E. B. Stuart's staff.

Let the reader keep in his mind this description of Jackson's celerity and energy as a companion piece to other descriptions, soon to be given, of the manner in which some of our own soldiers were led. Cooke proceeds :

"General Stuart was on the right flank of the Confederate column, with a cordon of pickets and net-work of scouting parties, scouring the whole region, and to penetrate Stuart's chain of videttes in any important movement was next to impossible. Had General Pope felt convinced that the force advancing to assail his rear was not a body of cavalry only, but an army corps, under a commander so active and dangerous as Jackson, his operations on the Rappahannock would doubtless have terminated two days sooner. Thoroughfare Gap would have been defended, and the conditions under which the great battles at Manassas were fought would have been changed."

General Pope had valuable hints of what was going on, but he failed to realize their signification. Moreover, the delusion into which he had been led that the Army of the Potomac was rushing to his assistance, induced him to believe that the line upon which that army was supposed to be approaching was sufficiently secure against disturbance. Still, it is hard to understand why Thoroughfare Gap was left wholly unwatched, not to say undefended.

Cooke's narrative continues :

"Thoroughfare Gap was passed : the open country lay before Jackson, and at Gainesville General Stuart came up with his cavalry and took position on the right flank. It was important to strike the Federal communications immediately, and attack Manassas, if possible, before General Pope received intelligence of the advance upon his rear ; and with this end in view, Jackson hurried forward to Bristoe, a station on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, four miles from Manassas, which was reached and a small guard captured after sunset (26th). As Stuart approached this place the sound of cars was heard from the direction of Warrenton, and a train was soon seen approaching rapidly. Colonel Munford, of the Second Virginia Cavalry, fired into it, but did not succeed in stopping it. It continued its way and reached Manassas in safety.* Other trains were coming from the same direction, however, and, dividing his force, General Ewell took possession of two points on the railroad, which was obstructed by logs on the track. The trains came on without suspicion, and the result in this case was more satisfactory."

* This train did not stop even at Manassas, but rushed on at full speed, and crashed into a south-bound train loaded with soldiers, which was standing on the track at the Bull Run Bridge. Three soldiers were killed and several wounded by the collision.

The position which Jackson had thus gained, though perilous, gave him every opportunity for mischief, and he proceeded to make the most of it. Without a moment's delay he started a detachment down the railroad and broke it up at Kettle Run, only six miles east of Warrenton Junction. At the same instant another detachment, under Stuart, moved up the railroad intending to seize Manassas Junction, where several million dollars' worth of army supplies was at that time accumulated. In spite of the darkness of the night, and the weariness of his men, who had been marching all day, Stuart made good time, and before midnight (August 26th) reached the Junction, where he surprised and captured the garrison, and made himself master of everything within reach. Cooke thus enumerates the spoils seized by the raiders: Eight pieces of artillery, seventy-two horses and equipments, three hundred prisoners, two hundred negroes, two hundred new tents, one hundred and seventy-five additional horses exclusive of artillery horses, ten locomotives, two railroad trains of enormous size heavily loaded with stores, fifty thousand pounds of bacon, one thousand barrels of beef, twenty thousand barrels of pork, several thousand barrels of flour, and a large quantity of forage. The hungry Confederates helped themselves to everything they could eat or wear, and destroyed the rest, including all public buildings.

At Centerville, eight miles east of the Junction, was Brigadier-General George W. Taylor's New Jersey brigade, which had been sent forward from Alexandria. Learning of the surprise and rout at Manassas, this brigade pushed forward, and at seven o'clock in the morning drove in the Confederate skirmishers posted on the hills skirting Bull Run. Taylor then pushed on, and was permitted to approach within easy range of the fortifications around the Junction, where the enemy's infantry and cavalry awaited him in silence. Suddenly the artillery opened upon him from the breastworks, and his line was driven to the shelter of a neighboring ridge. Here Taylor was assailed by infantry, and made a gallant resistance, but he was obliged to fall back and recross Bull Run. His attack was hopeless from the beginning, for Jackson had by this time come up from Bristoe, and had with him two Confederate divisions. In this affair General Taylor was mortally wounded.

The way now being open eastward, Stuart's cavalry went raiding at will in that direction down the railroad, which was broken up as far east as Burke's Station, within fifteen miles of Alexandria.

Such was the first stage of Jackson's daring raid. It cost us dearly, but it was worth to us every cent it cost provided only we could promptly and fully avail ourselves of the opportunities it gave us. But of that further along.

In a military sense Jackson's exploit seems an impossible one, and it certainly would have been impossible had all the precautions which General Pope says he had provided against it been carried to fulfillment. But in one important particular he was not as vigilant as he should have been. While thinking of his left, and vainly extending his hand in that direction to grasp that of McClellan—a hand, by the way, which he was never able to seize during this campaign*—he set too little store by Sigel's warnings of what was going on upon his right. He, therefore, left the gate-ways of the Bull Run Mountains open. For this he was responsible.

On the other hand, as early as the 22d, he tells us, he had instructed General Sturgis, commanding at Alexandria, to see personally that strong detachments were posted along the railroad from Manassas Junction to Catlett's Station. He had furthermore sent orders to the commandant at the Junction to retain there, as a garrison, the first division that should come from Alexandria, and to push forward all his cavalry toward Thoroughfare Gap. He had also requested General Halleck to push Franklin's Corps with all speed to Gainesville, where, he says, he had reason to expect confidently, from assurances given him, that Franklin would arrive during the afternoon of the 26th. Such are General Pope's claims.

But no detachments, adequately strong, were posted along the railroad; no division reached Manassas, and no cavalry was thrown forward to Thoroughfare Gap. As for Franklin, he did not reach Alexandria until the afternoon of the 26th, and did not get as far forward as Centerville even until this campaign was virtually over. Reynolds' division, 2,500 strong, came up, as we have seen, on the 23d. On the 25th, Heintzelman's Corps reported to Pope at Warrenton Junction, and on the 26th Fitz John Porter's† at Bealton. These three commands, numbering in all about 22,500 effective men (General Pope says 20,500) constitute the whole of the re-inforcements which the Army of Virginia received from the Army of the Potomac. They were, indeed, the only troops from McClellan's veteran army of 90,000 men which took any efficient part in this campaign.

General Pope thus states, with substantial correctness, the condition of his army at this time:

"From the 18th of August until the morning of the 27th the troops

* On the 4th of July General Pope had written to McClellan a full statement of his forces, situation, and plans, and made cordial proffers of cooperation. McClellan replied that he *would not "fall back"* from his position at Harrison's Landing "unless absolutely forced to do so." Official Records, vol. XI, Part 3, pp. 295, 306.

† Porter's Corps, including Piatt's Brigade, was about 12,000 strong. It contained most of the regular troops, and was thoroughly officered and equipped.

under my command had been continually marching and fighting night and day, and during the whole of that time there was scarcely an interval of an hour without the roar of artillery. The men had had but little sleep, were greatly worn down with fatigue, had had but little time to get proper food or to eat it, had been engaged in constant battles and skirmishes, and had performed services laborious, dangerous, and excessive beyond any previous experience in this country. As was to be expected under such circumstances, the numbers of the army under my command had been greatly reduced by death, by wounds, by sickness, and by fatigue, so that on the morning of the 27th of August I estimated my whole effective force (and I think the estimate was large), as follows: Sigel's Corps, 9,000; Banks' Corps, 5,000; McDowell's Corps, including Reynolds' Division, 15,500; Reno's Corps, 7,000; the corps of Heintzelman and Porter (the freshest by far in that army) about 18,000 men; making in all 54,500 men. Our cavalry numbered on paper about 4,000, but their horses were completely broken down, and there were not 500 men, all told, capable of doing such service as should be expected from cavalry. The corps of Heintzelman had reached Warrenton Junction, but without wagons, without artillery, and with only forty rounds of ammunition to the man, and without even horses for the general field officers. The corps of Porter had also reached Warrenton Junction with a very small supply of provisions, and but forty rounds of ammunition for each man."

This is no exaggerated picture of the services our army had performed, and of its condition at the moment when Jackson swooped down upon its supply depot and line of communications. The bulk of Lee's army was still in front of us at Waterloo; a cavalry detachment sent out * to reconnoiter toward Thoroughfare Gap had not yet reported, and Pope was still unadvised and unsuspecting as to what was taking place in his rear. But during the afternoon of the 26th he discovered symptoms of something wrong in that direction, and sent by a staff officer the following order to General Heintzelman at Warrenton Junction:

"The Major-General commanding the Army of Virginia directs me to request you to put *a regiment* on a train of cars, and send it down immediately to Manassas to ascertain what has occurred, repair the telegraph wires, and protect the railroad there until further orders."

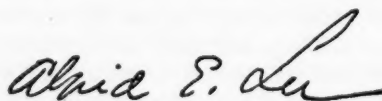
At midnight (26th) Pope instructed McDowell as follows:

"General Sigel reports the enemy's rear-guard at Orleans to-night with his main force encamped at White Plains. You will please ascertain very early in the morning whether this is so, and have the whole of your com-

* On the morning of the 26th.

mand in readiness to march. You had better ascertain to-night if you possibly can. Our communications have been interrupted by the enemy's *cavalry* near Manassas. Whether his whole force, or the larger part of it, has gone round is a question which we must settle instantly, and no portion of his force must march opposite to us to-night without our knowing it. I telegraphed you an hour ago what dispositions I had made, supposing the advance through Thoroughfare Gap to be a column of not more than 10,000 or 15,000 men. If his whole force, or the larger part of it, has gone, we must know it at once."

Such was the state of General Pope's information at midnight of the 26th. Very soon after that hour he realized more clearly, though still not fully, what the enemy was doing, and he acted upon the information, as we shall see, with promptness and energy. Twenty-four hours earlier* he had decided to mass his army between Warrenton and Gainsville, and there deliver battle. This determination, and the disposition of his forces which it had prompted, prepared him well for the unforeseen emergency now to be met.



* Night of the 25th.

THE EVOLUTION OF CANADIAN PARTIES

If Mr. Carrick had read "The Consolidation of Canada" more carefully, he would not have charged me with misrepresentation of facts. To whom Canada is most indebted for Confederation is a much disputed question, but the names of Sir John Macdonald, George Brown, Alexander Mackenzie, and Thomas D'Arcy McGee will always be intimately associated with that event. My article did not deal with the events that preceded Confederation. No reference was made to the part taken by the politicians of either party in bringing about Confederation. Mr. Carrick's account of the part taken by Mr. Brown and Mr. Mackenzie in furthering the project is substantially correct, but it does not alter the fact that after Confederation "most of the Dominionists allied themselves with the Conservatives, while the Provincialists joined the Reformers." With Confederation Canada entered upon a new phase of existence, and all the conditions of public life were changed. The old names were retained, but it was inevitable that important changes should occur in the personnel and policy of the two parties. The first prominent politician to change sides was Mr. Richard Cartwright, now Sir Richard Cartwright. He had always been a Tory, and was elected in 1867 as a supporter of Sir John Macdonald, but shortly afterward went over to the Reformers. Since then other Conservatives have followed his example, while many Reformers have joined the Conservatives. The change in policy came about gradually. The Conservatives before long decided that with altered conditions a new policy must be adopted. Confederation was accomplished, but consolidation was not complete. It was a paper union, and would remain so unless the Provinces were brought into closer communication and made to trade with each other. The conditions of life in Canada and the United States were very similar, and wishing to profit by the experience of others, the Conservatives began to study the public policy of the Americans, feeling sure that much could be learned from an enlightened and progressive people whose country adjoined the new Dominion from ocean to ocean. Out of this grew in time what is known in Canada as the "National Policy," derisively abbreviated by the Reformers to "N. P." Mr. George Brown and Mr. Alexander Mackenzie were patriotic, honest men, but they were British to the heart's core and strongly opposed to the introduction of American methods and American measures. The Conservatives said that their change of policy

was not due to hostility to England, but that the conditions of life were so different on this continent that we must imitate the policy of our neighbors if we would compete with them. This view of the case commended itself to the great majority of Canadian electors, and the strength of the Conservative party was greatly increased. Up to this time the *Toronto Globe*, under the editorial control of Mr. George Brown and his brother, Mr. Gordon Brown, had dictated the policy of the Reform Party and exerted an extraordinary influence throughout the country, for the Browns were men of sterling integrity and great force of character. Mr. Mackenzie, the Reform leader, fully sympathized with their views, but a dissatisfied faction of the party who were opposed to what they called the Brown dictatorship, got the upper hand, and Mr. Mackenzie was deposed from the leadership to make place for Mr. Edward Blake. Shortly after this Mr. George Brown died, and his brother, Mr. Gordon Brown, long associated with him in the editorial control of the *Globe*, became managing editor. The *Globe* was founded by the Browns, and its success was entirely due to them, but they had found it necessary to form a joint-stock company, and at the time of Mr. George Brown's death did not control a majority of the shares. The new leaders wished to dictate the policy of the *Globe*, but Mr. Gordon Brown insisted that the paper must maintain an independent attitude consistent with its former policy. The anti-Brown faction obtained the ear of Mr. Nelson, the principal stockholder of the *Globe*, and Mr. Gordon Brown was forced to sever his connection with the paper which he and his brother had made a power in the land. Having deposed their old leaders, the Reformers completely reversed the policy of the party on many important questions. The *Globe* under the Browns was strongly British, and would not hear of independence or annexation, and, after his deposition from the leadership, Mr. Mackenzie said in a public speech that Canadians would gladly spend their last dollar and shed their last drop of blood in support of British connection. Under the new management, the *Globe* began to toy with the questions of independence and annexation with a view to testing public opinion, and in its issue of June 12, 1886, under the heading, "The Destiny of Canada," it went so far as to say: "The situation is tolerated by the multitudes who wish to substitute a better one merely from consideration for the sentimentalists who cling to the old form of the old connection. The flag is merely a picture of battle, and the throne nothing more than a gilded chair with a canopy, and the crown simply a bauble stuck over with jewels, to tens and hundreds of thousands in the Dominion. The British and we are aliens from each other by force of geography." Some of the Reform papers,

notably the Kingston *Whig* and the Ottawa *Free Press*, do not follow the *Globe* in regard to independence. Under the Browns, the *Globe* strongly opposed an elective senate, and it was largely due to the arguments of George Brown in Parliament that a nominative senate was decided upon. In his speech, February 8, 1865, he said: "I have always been opposed to a second elective chamber and am so still. I voted, almost alone, against the change when the council was made elective, but I have lived to see a vast majority of those who did the deed wish it had not been done. What we propose is that the upper House shall be appointed from the best men of the country by those holding the confidence of the representatives of the people in this chamber. It is proposed that the government of the day, which only lives by the approval of this chamber, shall make the appointments, and be responsible to the people for the selections they shall make." But, the *Globe* and the whole Reform Party demand that the senate be either abolished or made elective. The *Globe* and the Reform Party under the old leadership were bitterly hostile to the Roman Catholics and the French Canadians. Now the *Globe*, Edward Blake and his lieutenants are making extraordinary efforts to gain the friendship of the French Canadians and secure the Roman Catholic vote. The framers of the Canadian constitution, both Conservatives and Reformers, were very strongly opposed to the doctrine of State sovereignty. They believed that the American civil war was due to this doctrine, and they took particular pains to have it understood from the first that the Dominion was to be the unit and the provinces the factors. The American constitution reserves to the States jurisdiction in all matters not delegated to the National Government. The Canadian constitution expressly reserves to the Dominion Government jurisdiction in all matters not delegated to the provinces. The Confederation Act also provides that any act passed by the local legislatures shall be subject to disallowance by the governor-general in council within one year of the passing thereof. This was intended to prevent sectional legislation injurious to the Dominion at large, and to provide for the representation of minorities, so that, although the Dominion cannot dictate legislation for the provinces, it can refuse to sanction a provincial measure, and in the event of unjust legislation, the minority can appeal to it. This clause was agreed to during the debates on confederation, and Mr. Brown speaking in support of it said: "By vesting the appointment of the lieutenant-governors in the general government and giving a veto for all local measures we have secured that no injustice shall be done without appeal in local legislation." Mr. Mackenzie said: "The veto power is necessary in order that the general government may have a control over

the proceedings of the local legislatures to a certain extent. The want of this power was the great source of weakness in the United States, and it is a want that will be remedied by an amendment in their constitution very soon. If each province were able to enact such laws as it pleased everybody would be at the mercy of the local legislatures, and the general legislature would become of little importance." Mr. Mackenzie was of the same mind some years later, for during his administration of about five years twenty provincial acts were disallowed. Yet almost ever since the deposition of the old leaders the Reformers have denounced the Dominion Government for trenching on the reserved prerogatives of the legislatures in disallowing provincial acts. This change of policy was not induced by an undue exercise of the veto power. The "Provincial Rights" agitation was at its height in 1883. Between the years 1867 and 1882 six thousand two hundred and ninety-three acts were passed by all the provincial legislatures, and of these only thirty-two were disallowed, twenty during the Mackenzie administration of about five years, and twelve during the Macdonald administration of about ten years. I must not be understood to blame the Reform leaders for changing the policy of the party, nor do I wish to argue against either the reform of the senate or the ultimate independence of Canada. My purpose is merely to show that the personnel and policy of each party has greatly changed since Confederation, and that the old party names are no longer appropriate. In calling the Conservatives "Dominionists" and the Reformers "Provincialists," I did not intend to offend the Reformers, but thought they would rather like the new name as they have for several years made "Provincial Rights" their battle-cry, and claim, in the words of Mr. Carrick, that the several provinces are the units and the Dominion the multiple. There could not be a better time than the present for a change of names, for owing to the attitude of the Reform Party on the Riel question a number of French-Canadian Bleus, who had always associated the name "Reformers" with hostility to the French Canadians, are now anxious to follow the leadership of Mr. Edward Blake, while many Protestant Reformers are joining the Conservatives for the same reason, and will not wish to be called Conservatives after voting the Reform ticket for so many years. The Reformers of Nova Scotia certainly would not object to the name "Provincialists." I have already stated that the Reformers strongly opposed the speedy construction of an all-Canadian route to the Pacific, and that Mr. Blake said it would be better to let British Columbia secede than to undertake the stupendous work; it will not be denied that the Reformers tell the electors of each province that their natural market is not in the other provinces,

but in the neighboring States; and all will agree that the Conservatives have always been charged with centralization; but the most telling illustration of Reform provincialism has been furnished since the publication of my article on "The Consolidation of Canada." The Reform government of Nova Scotia went to the province with the cry of "repeal." The Reform newspapers of the province daily published articles bitterly hostile to the Dominion, and the leading local politicians of that party tried in every way to arouse feelings of hatred toward Canadians in general. The Conservative newspapers in Nova Scotia, on the other hand, were full of patriotic articles calling upon the people to sustain the union, and giving many columns of official statistics showing how greatly every branch of trade in the province has increased since Confederation and how trade would be ruined by secession. During the contest, the Reform papers in other parts of the Dominion, with one or two exceptions, said not a word in condemnation of the secession agitation, and when a repeal majority of about five per cent. of the votes was announced Reform papers throughout the Dominion claimed that it was a great Reform victory. I believe the only Reform dailies that emphatically pronounced against the principle of secession were the Kingston *Whig* and the Ottawa *Free Press*. The *Daily Times* of Hamilton, Ontario, one of the oldest Reform papers in the West, commenting on the victory, after expressing sympathy with the secessionists, said: "There is nothing sacred about Confederation. It is a human scheme devised by politicians a few years ago for the supposed benefit of the people inhabiting the several provinces, and if it turns out in practice to be an unprofitable scheme for any or all of the partners there is the same liberty to unmake it as there was to make it."

In reply to the greater part of Dr. Bender's article on Canada in the June number of this magazine it is only necessary to say: read my article in the April number again. But a few of his statements call for correction. He says that according to Mr. Brydges there were, in 1875, four thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven miles of railway in Canada. Well, the confederation did not take place in 1875 but in 1867. According to a report recently issued by the Dominion Department of Agriculture, there were in 1867 two thousand three hundred and eighty miles of railway within the territory which now comprises the Dominion of Canada. Dr. Bender says the great Welland canal was made so long ago as 1829. There was a small Welland canal before Confederation, but the great Welland canal has been constructed since. Between June 30, 1867, and June 30, 1885, \$14,117,823.88 was expended on it. He says the debt of Canada is nearly \$300,000,000. The exact figures are \$264,808,520. With \$35,191,480, the difference

between the imaginary debt and the real debt, the Canadian Dominionists could build some substantial public works. It should be noted here that this debt includes the debts of all the provinces assumed by the Dominion. This provincial indebtedness amounted to \$106,311,392, and in making comparisons with the United States federal debt this must be taken into consideration. After stating the liabilities of the Dominion, it is only fair to say something about the assets. The Dominion Government has a sinking fund, banking accounts, provincial accounts, and other investments amounting in all to \$68,236,705, leaving a total net debt of \$196,571,785, or without the provincial indebtedness assumed, a net Dominion debt since Confederation of \$90,260,393. Besides, the country has the benefit of the railways, canals, and other public works upon which there has been a government expenditure of \$210,975,789. Although these public works cannot be used to pay off the national debt, they annually put into the pockets of the people much more than the interest on the public debt, and practically entirely relieve Canadians of taxation for federal purposes, for there is no direct taxation, and the increase in prices which would naturally result from customs and excise duties has been counterbalanced by the cheapness of home production induced by easier communication and lower rates for the transportation of freight. Moreover, the construction of railways has brought within the range of settlement millions of acres of crown lands, and whether these lands are sold or given free to settlers, they must in a few years greatly increase the revenue of the Dominion Government. In support of his statement that the value of real estate in Ontario fell \$30,000,000 last year, Dr. Bender says that Sir Richard Cartwright quoted the Ontario Bureau of Industries to that effect. I have in my hand a letter from Mr. A. Blue, Secretary of the Ontario Bureau of Industries, dated June 9, 1886, which states that the report for 1885 is not yet out of the printer's hands, which accords with my statement that no government statistics bearing on the value of real estate last year had been published. I have, however, obtained advanced sheets of the report for 1885, according to which the value of farm land in Ontario increased by \$943,318 last year, while \$9,090,980 worth of farm buildings were erected in the province. But perhaps Sir Richard referred to the report for 1884. According to the report for 1884, there was in that year a decrease of \$29,314,319 in the value of farm lands, but \$10,356,250 worth of farm buildings were erected during the year, and the value of farm implements increased \$4,308,180. The report for 1883 shows an increase of \$22,450,525 in the value of farm lands, an increase of \$30,319,100 in the value of farm buildings, and an increase of \$6,492,715 in the value of farm implements. Why did the value of farm lands decrease so greatly

in 1884, a year in which the farmers were able to erect over ten million dollars worth of new buildings and purchase over four million dollars worth of farm implements? I find the explanation in the Report of the Ontario Bureau of Industries for 1883, which makes the following statement: "The table showing the value of farm property in the province has been compiled from the returns made by farmers. It is difficult to obtain reliable figures under this head so long as the fear exists that the inquiry is made with the object of levying taxes." So much for statistics of Sir Richard Cartwright, from whose speeches Dr. Bender takes his figures. Dr. Bender says: "Newfoundland's revenue this year has fallen short of the estimates accompanying an over-expenditure during the same period." Is it possible that Dr. Bender believes that Newfoundland is a province of the Canadian Dominion! It is quite probable that Newfoundland will eventually be annexed to the Dominion, but at present the Government at Ottawa is no more responsible for the condition of Newfoundland than the Government at Washington is for that of Cuba. I do not wish to convey the impression that the Dominion is enjoying extraordinary prosperity. There are very few millionaires, but the people in general are well-to-do. There is very little poverty, a great deal of comfort, and the country is making as great progress as can be expected when the difficulties to be surmounted are considered. It may seem strange, but it is nevertheless a fact, that the men in Canada who favor the disintegration of the Dominion and annexation to the United States have always opposed the adoption by Canada of measures and policies that have already been successfully tried by the Americans; and if the provinces ever do by any chance join fortunes with the States, no more patriotic citizens of the great republic will be found than the Canadian Dominionists. They are not men of narrow, sectional views. They believe that the whole is greater than its part. The unit now is the Dominion, and I think it always will be, but if annexation ever does come about, if they are forced to give up their hope of establishing a highly civilized northern democracy ranking as one of the world's great commercial nations, they will not be a drag on the progress of the United States as some of the Provincialists are upon that of the Dominion.

Watson Griffin

MONTREAL, July 8th.

VOL. XVI.—No. 3.—20

NEW ENGLAND'S LOST CITY FOUND

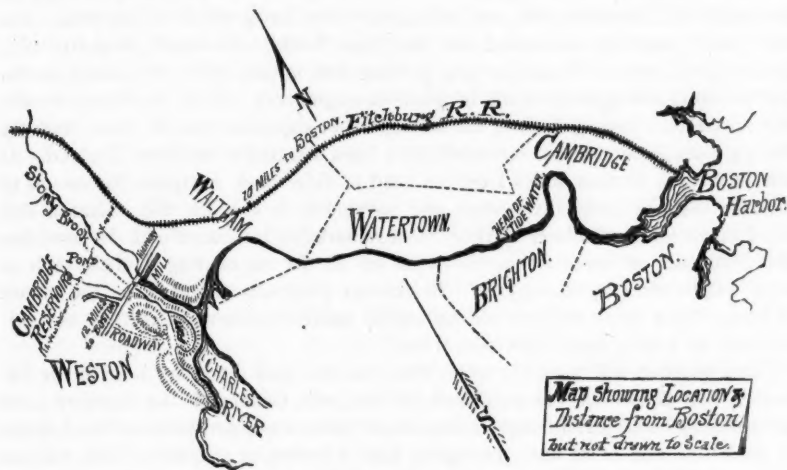
In the first volume of the *Magazine of American History*, a work which already fills a large place in the periodical literature of the day, at page 14, is an article by Rev. B. F. De Costa on New England's Lost City, Norumbega, and up to the time that paper was written no trace of the lost city had been discovered. But it can now be safely announced that the lost city, or what remains of it, has been found.

The fortunate discoverer is Professor E. N. Horsford of Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts. He had become interested in the subject, and after reading the old authorities concerning it, and examining the early maps of the country, such as are mentioned by Mr. De Costa, he became convinced that Norumbega was something more than a myth, and that it had a local habitation as well as a name. The name Norumbega was doubtless of Indian origin, though some had attempted to show that it was a name given by the Norsemen, thus proving their early discovery and occupation of the country. Professor Horsford compared it with the Indian names in Maine, where it was supposed Norumbega was located; and early writers gave its location as on the Penobscot, but mistakes of that kind were easily made at that early day. No names of rivers or localities in Maine have any similarity to it, notwithstanding the city of Bangor has a Norumbega Hall.

But Naumkuag, the Indian name for Salem, and other Indian names in the vicinity of Boston, manifested some kinship to Norumbega. The early maps and geographies, too, indicate that the lost city had a latitude and longitude nearer the vicinity of Boston than any part of Maine. Columbus and all the early navigators and explorers had no idea of the magnitude of the New World which the daring enterprise of Columbus had opened to the knowledge of the Old World. They all supposed that he had but come upon some of the outlying islands of India, or the fabled Cathay, the wonderful land of wealth. And the map of Martin Fox, referred to by Mr. De Costa, and a copy of which is published in Professor Horsford's pamphlet, represents a large island where New England now is, and on this is located Norumbega near the real latitude of Boston.

The city of Cambridge, under the authority of a charter from the legislature, had begun the construction of its reservoir at Stony Brook, at its junction with the Charles River, for its supply of fresh water, when Professor Horsford made up his mind that this must be the locality of the long lost Norumbega. He took a team, and with a friend drove to the place, and there at once came upon the remains of some ancient works, which a thorough investigation leaves no doubt is the true and real remains of "the Lost City." It is about four miles above the head of tide-water on the Charles River, and near the dividing line between the City of Waltham and the town of Weston, and is about a mile and a half above the magnificent factory of the American Watch Company. The highway now runs along, crossing

Stony Brook just below where the water for the supply of the moat that surrounded the fortress was taken by a ditch. Several years ago a dam was built by the side of the road for the supply of a mill, now the paper mill of William Roberts, Esq., and when this dam was removed by the authorities of Cambridge, for the construction of their immense work some distance above, the ditch was laid bare and found complete and well defined.



SITE OF NORUMBEGA, NEW ENGLAND'S LOST CITY.

From the point where the ditch took the water from Stony Brook to the moat I find to be nine hundred and thirty feet. The moat itself about one thousand feet in circuit, and from this, extending off along the bank of the river, is a ditch five hundred feet long, evidently as a waste wear for the water from the moat. The water being allowed to run off along its whole length to prevent gullyng at any point. The space inclosed by the moat is a rounded bluff, nearly level on the summit, which is thirty or more feet above the moat. This bluff is surrounded by low ground on all sides, except the neck of land on the side opposite the river through which the moat had to be dug, to bring it to a water level, much deeper than elsewhere, and here the embankment from the earth thrown out is still high and the remains of the moat deeper than elsewhere.

The antiquity of this ditch and moat is apparent from the remains of the large stumps of trees that had grown up in it and on its sides. The trees, some of them more than a century old, were cut nearly a half century ago. Some years must have passed after the moat was abandoned before these trees could have started, which would altogether carry us back to at least two hundred years. That

brings us to about the period of the close of King Phillip's war. But then, nor at any time after the advent of the Puritans to the shores of Massachusetts Bay, this work could not have been constructed without some record of it. So that we are necessarily pushed back probably more than a hundred years prior to this, and that brings us to the time of the existence of Norumbega, for Milton, in his *Paradise Lost*, refers to it, and it must have been founded years prior to that.

One of the early writers represents it as the capital of the fur trade, standing on the banks of a beautiful river, and indulging in the fancy which at that time "run riot" over anything connected with the New World, tells us of its quartz hills, quarries of diamonds, its granite hills, pouting with untold stores of mineral wealth, and its rivers rolling over sands of gold—a magnificent city of marvelous wealth and resources. It was, indeed, the metropolis or capital of the fur trade, and for this no more fortunate location could have been selected in all New England. It was but three or four miles from the head of tide-water, navigable for vessels of the size used by early discoverers and navigators in crossing the Atlantic, and stood in the midst of a large territory most remarkably interlaced with the branches and tributaries of three rivers, the home of all the fur-bearing animals such as were sought after by Europeans. In another particular the works at the mouth of Stony Brook agree with the old authorities which represent the fortress as "surrounded by a deep moat filled with water."

The question will naturally arise, Why has not this discovery been made before? The people of the neighborhood and the owners of the territory have always known of singular traces or remains of some kind, and believed the Indians or some one else must have attempted here a system of *irrigation*. But without mattock or hoe, and with only such means as the wild fox or woodchuck has to dig his hole, the Indians would hardly have attempted it; and even with every facility for doing it the more enlightened white men would not have expended such labor to irrigate a cobble-stone and gravel hill when all around rich and fertile land invited the hand of the cultivator unclaimed. The skill and art in military engineering manifest in the plan, location, and execution of the work show that it was selected and designed by an experienced head, and for something more than a temporary purpose.

As to who were the founders of Norumbega, whether English or French, is matter of some doubt. The French early gained foothold at the North. They remained in America despite the rigors of the Canadian winters, and pushed their trading posts and Catholic missions inland. The English, meanwhile, contented themselves with the possession of the Atlantic coast under the milder skies of Virginia. And it was not till the beginning of the seventeenth century that Captain John Smith aroused the people of England to the importance of New England. Hence it appears that the most probable founders of Norumbega were the French.

A. B. Berry

ALBANY'S HISTORIC DAY

[HISTORICAL JOTTINGS]

The 22d of July, 1886, will ever be regarded as a great day in the annals of Albany. The celebration which culminated on that eventful Thursday commenced with memorial observances in all the churches of that ancient city on Sunday, July 18th. On Monday, in the morning, there was choral singing by thousands of school-children, and in the afternoon a monster parade of the business men of Albany, with moving tableaux portraying the contrasts of two centuries in manufacture and trade. By Tuesday the city had become warm with excitement, and in the morning of that day a parade of the various nationalities—French, Dutch, German, Irish, Scottish, English, Italian, American Indian, and others—with decorated floats and symbolical tableaux, attracted the attention of thousands who lined the streets; and in the afternoon there were special observances by the various nationalities, among which was the planting of a memorial oak in Washington Park by the Germans, with choral singing, and a tribute to Dongan at the Academy of Music by the Irish Societies. A review of decorated and illuminated steam-boats on the river was the great event of the evening. Wednesday was ushered in by a salute of thirty-eight guns at sunrise; the firemen and other civic organizations paraded in the forenoon, every variety of fire apparatus, from the most antique to the most modern, being exhibited. The evening of that day was devoted to the Historical Pageant, illustrating scenes and incidents connected with the history of Albany during its two hundred years. At midnight, after this unique parade, the two hundredth anniversary of the city's birth was ushered in by ringing of bells, singing of hymns, and other joyful demonstrations. At sunrise, a salute of two hundred guns awoke all who were caught napping at that hour. The city was crowded with people from every part of the State and from other States, and flags floated from every flag-staff, roof, and window, were fastened in arches across the streets in all directions, adorned the fences and trees, and brightened the vehicles that crushed along the thoroughfares. It was a brilliant scene. In the morning there was a military parade of great magnitude and striking effect. The public exercises of the day began about noon, at the rink. The President of the United States and the gentlemen of his cabinet occupied seats on the platform, and the orator of the day was the Governor of New York, David B. Hill; the poet of the occasion was Mr. William H. McElroy, and his subject was "Peter Schuyler's Mandate." The recital was from memory, in a clear, rich voice, and held the large audience captive, with occasional bursts of laughter and applause, to the end. In the evening magnificent fire-works were exhibited in the park.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

WASHINGTON'S LAST TOOTH

It is Retained as an Heir-loom by the Family of Washington's Dentist.

[In the *Commercial Advertiser* of July 24 appeared the following: "It is perhaps not generally known that the last one of George Washington's teeth is an heir-loom in the family of the late John Greenwood, a gentleman who sustained the responsible and interesting relation of dentist to the 'father of his country.' That fact was incidentally mentioned by the lawyers in a case before the surrogate court yesterday afternoon. Mr. Hamilton Squire, as counsel for the heirs of one Henry Weaver, long since deceased, yesterday made application to Surrogate Rollins to compel the representatives of the Greenwood estate to pay over to the Weaver heirs a sum of money which it is claimed has been held by the Greenwood family as trustees for the heirs of Jane Weaver since the year 1816, and which was left by Jane Weaver with Mr. John Greenwood at that time. Mr. Greenwood acted as Washington's dentist for several years. After Washington went to Virginia from New York, he sent by letter to Mr. Greenwood the last one of his natural teeth, to be used by the latter as a pattern for a new set. This tooth has been bequeathed from generation to generation in the Greenwood family, and is yet in their possession. This circumstance, which was mentioned in the course of an argument by Mr. Rudd, the counsel for the Greenwood estate, furnishes another proof of the humanity of General Washington, in that in the plenitude of his powers he suffered the dentist to survive him." In connection with this curious bit of information we are able, through the courtesy of Mr. William Alexander Smith, of New York, to publish the original letter written by Greenwood to Washington in relation to his false teeth.—EDITOR.]

Letter of John Greenwood to George Washington

[From the Collection of Mr. William Alexander Smith.]

New York December 28, 1798

Sir

I send you enclosed two sets of teeth, one fixed on the old bars in part, and the set you sent me from Philadelphia which when I received was very black, occasioned either by your soaking them in port wine, or by your drinking it. Port wine being sower, takes off all the polish and all Acid has a tendency to soften every kind of teeth and bone. Acid is used in coloring every kind of Ivory, therefore it is very pernicious to the teeth. I advise you to either take them out after dinner and put them in clean water and put in another set, or clean them with a brush and some chalk scraped fine. It will absorb the acids which collect from the mouth and preserve them longer—I have found another and better way of using the sealing wax when holes is eaten in the teeth by acids &c.—First observe and dry the teeth, then take a piece of Wax and cut it into small pieces as you think will fill up the hole; then take a large nail or any other piece

of iron and heat it hot into the fire, then put your piece of wax into the hole and melt it by means of introducing the point of the nail to it. I have tried it and found it to consolidate, and do better than the other way and if done proper it will resist the saliva. It will be handier for you to take hold of the nail with small plyers than with a tongs thus, the wax must be very small not bigger than this. . . . If your teeth grows black take some chalk and a pine or cedar stick, it will rub it off. If you want your teeth more yellow soak them in Broth or pot liquor, but not in tea or acids. Porter is a good thing to color them and will not hurt but preserve them, but it must not be in the least pricked—You will find I have altered the upper teeth you sent me from Philadelphia. Leaving the enamel on the teeth dont preserve them any longer than if it was off, it only holds the color better, but to preserve them they must be very often changed and cleaned, for whatever attacks them must be repelled as often, or it will gain ground and destroy the works. the two setts I repaired is done on a different plan than when they are done when made entirely new, for the teeth are screwed on the barrs, instead of having the barrs cast red hot on them, which is the reason I believe they destroy or dissolve so soon near to the barrs.

Sir,

After hoping you will not be obliged to be troubled very soon
in the same way,

I subscribe myself

Your very humble

Servant,

John Greenwood

Sir,

the additional charge is fifteen dollars.

P. S. I expect next spring to move my family into Connecticut State. If I do I will write and let you know, and whether I give up my present business or not, I will as long as I live do anything in this way for you if you require it.

NOTES

ALBANY—Governor Hill, in his brilliant historical address on the occasion of Albany's two hundredth birthday, said: "Albany became the capital of the State the same year the United States Constitution was transmitted to Congress for ratification or rejection. From the adoption of the Constitution to the present time, Albany has been a great center of political power. Among the many great political contests between the intellects of other days, which recollections of Albany bring up, is the one between De Witt Clinton and his opponents; a contest which culminated in 1824 in his sudden removal, by a concurrent resolution of the Senate and Assembly, from the office of Canal Commissioner, which he held so long with honor to himself and profit to the State. Few events of the past created such popular indignation as this; and the ground on which we stand is rendered memorable by the immense gathering of people who came to express their dissatisfaction at this excessive measure of political warfare. In the midst of these scenes another citizen of Albany, a statesman of the republic, a leader of a great party, was developing the force and power of his abilities. He was the leading spirit in the famous Albany Regency, which was as powerful here as was the Areopagus at Athens, the Decemviri at Rome, the Council of Ten in Venice, or the famous Cabal in the reign of the Second Charles of England. This personage was Martin Van Buren, who wielded power with all the subtlety of a Richelieu, a Buckingham, or a Halifax. With him were associated

William L. Marcy, the first of American statesmen; Benjamin F. Butler, the learned and accomplished reviser of the statutes; and Edwin Croswell, whose trenchant pen in journalism never found but one rival in the State. . . .

A few years later and Albany was the home of another regency scarcely less powerful—a regency which largely aided in forming the great and now historical Whig party, and whose activities afterward guided its destinies in the State and largely in the nation. At the head of this regency stood Thurlow Weed, who might have said: "I am the Whig party of the State of New York" with more force and with more truth than did Louis XIV. when he exclaimed "I am France." One who made journalism his truncheon of political power, one who, without personal ambition, caused the most ambitious and aspiring to acknowledge their fealty to him ere their own political schemes could succeed, or their political ambition be gratified. . . . There was another name connected with this latter regency, that of William H. Seward, who often declared that Albany was his second home.

Albany is everywhere full of the recollections of men great in its own history, great in the history of the State, and great in the history of the nation. We open one page of history and there is recorded the career of William L. Marcy; another page is adorned by the great name of Horatio Seymour—a name that will ever grow brighter and more and more illustrious as the years pass by. Here has been the permanent location

of the legislature or law-making department of the State for nearly a century. For good or for evil, the laws which have been here enacted have made their impress upon the history and affected the destiny of our commonwealth. Whatever of them have aided to safely, wisely and successfully guide and administer the affairs of this great State—a State which in its extent, resources and power is almost a nation of itself—may be attributable in part to the wholesome influence of the local associations which have surrounded this law-abiding and peace-loving city."

MONUMENT TO NATHANAEL GREENE

—In the city of Savannah, on one of the principal streets, there has stood for many years an imposing monument with no inscription upon it. Numerous inquiries have been made regarding it, and a communication from General C. W. Darling, Corresponding Secretary of the Oneida Historical Society, to Corresponding Secretary William Harden, of the Georgia Historical Society, in relation to this monument, brings the following answer: "The monument to which you refer was inscriptionless down to the sixth of May last; but that can no longer be said of it. Its history, in brief, is as follows: General Lafayette, while a guest of this city (Savannah), and at the request of the citizens, on the 21st of March, 1825, laid the corner-stones of two monuments; one in Johnson Square, in memory of General Nathanael Greene, and the other in Chippewa Square, in memory of Count Pulaski. Efforts were made to raise funds for the erection of these monuments, but the

money came in slowly, and the legislature of Georgia, in November, 1826, authorized certain commissioners to raise the amount of \$35,000 (dollars) for the purpose by lottery. Still the funds were not sufficient to warrant the erection of two monuments, and the commissioners decided to make one answer the purpose of commemorating the eminent services of both heroes. Accordingly the monument in Johnson Square was put up and was known as the 'Greene and Pulaski monument,' until 1853, when another was erected in Monterey Square, instead of Chippewa, to Count Pulaski. The first never had an inscription (although the matter was discussed in the news papers every now and then) until within the past few months. The movement to have an inscription placed upon the Greene monument started in the City Council in 1879, at which time a proposition was made that a joint committee, of Council and the Georgia Historical Society be appointed to suggest some plan for finishing that monument. Although they moved slowly, the joint committee accomplished what was proposed and their labors culminated in the addition to the monument of two bronze tablets, one-half of the cost of which was paid by the city and the other half was raised by subscription on the part of the members of the Georgia Historical Society. The tablets were unveiled with imposing ceremonies on the sixth day of May last. The plate on the northern side bears this inscription:

'Major-General Nathanael Greene.

Born in Rhode Island, 1742.

Died in Georgia, 1786.

Soldier, Patriot.

The Friend of Washington.

This shaft has been raised by the people of Savannah in honor of his great services to the American Revolution.'

"The plate on the southern side bears an alto-relievo portrait of General Greene." C. W. D.

UTICA, NEW YORK, August 10, 1886.

FACTS ABOUT POPES—The *New York Observer* publishes in a recent issue some interesting facts from the pen of S. H. Preston, from which we quote the following:

"Papists claim that the pontificate of St. Peter lasted twenty-five years. None of the Popes have ruled that length of time except Pius IX., who died at the age of eighty-seven, after having occupied the papal throne thirty-two years. It is customary to remind each Pope at his election, '*Non videbis annos Petri*' (Thou wilt not see the years of Peter).

'The first of all the Popes was Peter,
For five and twenty years he reigned;
No Pope of all that followed have,
Save Pius IX., this length attained.'

Many of the Popes have lived to a very advanced age. Clement II. and John XXII. reigned till ninety years of age, Gregory XII. till ninety-one, and Gregory IX. till one hundred. The Popes have been well advanced in years at their election (Clement X. and some others being upward of eighty) with but few

exceptions, viz.: Innocent III. elected at the age of thirty-seven, John XI. at twenty-five, Gregory V. at twenty-four, John XII. at eighteen, and Benedict IX. at twelve. Of all who have occupied the papal chair, nine only have retained it for a longer period than twenty years; while one hundred and thirty-three have reigned but five years; thirty-two less than one year; twelve less than one month, and several but a few days. The average reign has been seven years."

Pius IX., whose portrait graces this number of the Magazine, was the only one of nine of the same name whose career was of special historical interest. He was born in 1792, and studied theology at the College of Volterra, taking holy orders in 1818. He died in 1878.

THE FIRST VETO — The following is from the Diary of Shubel Worth, Collector of Customs in the city of Hudson at the time of its date; "Apl 19, 1792—This day a bill for the apportionments of the Representatives among the several States was Returned by the President (Washington) with objections—

This is the first Bill since the Federal Sovereignty was established that the President of the United States objected to."

J. W. H.

NEW YORK, August 9, 1886.

QUERIES

CAN any one tell where a poll list—list of persons who voted at any election—in New York before 1777, can be

seen? The writer has searched without success in the county clerk's office, New York, and State records, Albany. H.W.

GENERAL PETER B. PORTER—Editor Magazine of American History:—In Dawson's Historical Magazine, September, 1867 (2d series vol. 2), page 180, it is stated that "The great-grandmother of General Grant was the grandmother of the late General Peter B. Porter of Niagara Falls. Noah Grant who came from Scotland and settled at Coventry, Conn., died early, and his widow married Peter Buell, by whom she had a daughter named Abigail. This Abigail was married to Dr. Joshua Porter of Salisbury, Conn., and they were the parents of the late Augustus and Peter Buel Porter of Niagara Falls."

Can any of your readers state whether there was any relationship between General Peter B. Porter and Colonel Fitz John Porter, late of the U. S. Army?

JOHN H. GUNN

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS.

SOUL OF SOLDIERY—Can any of the readers of the Magazine furnish any information concerning a society with the above name in existence in the early part of this century?

JOS. W. SANDERSON

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

MARGARET CORBIN'S HUSBAND, KILLED AT FORT WASHINGTON, NOVEMBER, 1776—June 29, 1779, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania directed an order to be drawn "in favour of Margaret Corbin, for Thirty Dollars, to relieve her present necessities, she having been wounded and utterly disabled by three

Grape shot, while she filled with distinguished Bravery the post of her Husband, who was killed by her side, serving a piece of Artillery at Fort Washington." The Council also "Ordered, that the case of Margaret Corbin, who was wounded and utterly disabled at Fort Washington, while she heroically filled the post of her husband, who was killed by her side serving a piece of Artillery, be recommended to a further consideration of the Board of War, This Council being of opinion, that notwithstanding the rations which have been allowed her, she is not Provided for as her helpless situation really requires."—See *Pa. Colonial Records, Vol. XII., pp. 34-5.*

Margaret Corbin's name appears in the roll of the Invalid Regiment of Pennsylvania, commanded by Col. Lewis Nicola, as it was discharged in April, 1783. See *Saffell's Records of the Revolutionary War, p. 224*, and *Pa. Archives, N. S. Vol. XI., 277*. In the winter of 1877 and 1878, at the suggestion of a friend in New Jersey, I undertook to investigate the "Molly Pitcher" tradition, and the notes I then made convinced me that Margaret Corbin mentioned above was the real heroine on whose brave deeds the story of "Molly Pitcher" is founded. Lately, having occasion to use the notes, I have been unable to find them, and therefore desire information and references on the subject. Anything, however slight, referring to Margaret Corbin or her husband will be acceptable.

I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PENNSYLVANIA, August 10, 1886.

REPLIES

"IN TIME OF PEACE PREPARE FOR WAR" [ix., 475; x., 73, 520]—In the speech of Governor William Franklin to the New Jersey Legislature, April 18, 1771, he said: "A Time of Peace, however, is certainly the best Time to prepare for War." W. N.

PATERSON, N. J.

[The above speech will appear in the forthcoming Vol. X., N. J. Archives, to be issued, perhaps, next month.—EDITOR.]

LOUIS XVI. AND MARIE ANTOINETTE [xvi., 182]—It might be mentioned, on the credit side of France, that between the period of the treaty of alliance in 1778 and the year 1883, when the United States obtained a loan of a little more than one million dollars from Louis XVI., that monarch *lent* to the Americans nearly three and a half million dollars, and guaranteed the payment of a loan of about seventeen hundred and fifty thousand dollars from Holland, on which he paid the interest. The whole sum thus furnished by him to the United States, *after* the treaty, and when France was bound by that treaty to help the Americans, was about six and a quarter million dollars. Of this sum the king made a present of nearly a million dollars to the Americans at the time of making the last loan. The balance was afterward paid by our government in installments. D.

NEW YORK, August 2, 1886.

THE OLD BELL-MAN [xvi., 198.]—*Editor Magazine of American History*:—The same question was asked in your

Magazine in March, 1879 [ii., 203], but has never been answered. On a thorough search through all the available histories of our country I find neither the name of the old bell-man, nor the "blue-eyed boy," though several authors allude to them, among them Lossing, in his *Field Book of the Revolution*. The great demonstration in Philadelphia did not take place until July 8, 1776. In *Bryant's History*, Vol. III., page 487, a foot-note reads as follows: "The romantic tradition that as soon as the adoption of the Declaration was decided upon, a little boy on the pavement clapped his hands and shouted, 'Ring! ring!' to the old sexton in the tower, who thereupon seized the tongue of the Liberty Bell and proclaimed the momentous tidings to a waiting crowd, and that the Secretary of Congress hastened to read the paper from the steps, seems to be without foundation." It, therefore, appears that the above will have to be classed with other myths which have been perpetuated by poets and writers of juvenile story-books, and have thus been instilled into the minds of youth for so many generations that they have become accepted as historical facts.

L. C. H.

COLUMBUS, OHIO.

"MRS." [xvi., 198]—I believe that all the authorities agree that *Miss* is simply a contraction of *Mistress*, and it is, therefore, pretty certain that formerly both married and single women were spoken of as "*Mrs.*" Worcester says, on the authority of *Todd*, "*Miss*, at the begin-

ning of the last century, was appropriated to the daughters of gentlemen under the age of ten. *Mistress* was then the style of grown-up unmarried ladies, though the mother was living, and, for a considerable part of the century, maintained its ground against the infantine form of *Miss*." Rev. E. C. Brewer (*Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*) says: "Miss used to be written Mis, and is the first syllable of Mistress; Mrs. is the contraction of meistersess, called Mis'ess. Even in the reign of George II. unmarried ladies used to be styled Mrs., as Mrs. Lepel, Mrs. Bellenden, Mrs. Blount, all unmarried ladies." WILLIAM HARDEN.

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

"MRS."—A "Query" of HARVARD'S [xvi., 198] asks: "Was the word *Mrs.* used formerly to designate a single as well as a married?" In my judgment it was so used. I have often found in old parish records entries like the following: Mr. Robert Gibson, of Spesutia Hundred, was joyned in bonds of Holy Matrimony unto Mrs. Mary Gouldsmyth, spinster. This was about 1704. And then I have instances like this: "Mrs. Eliz^a Boothby, wid., dyed on Spesutia Island, 1699." And in all other cases of that period, where a prefix of any kind was used in connection with either a married or a single woman or a widow, it was almost invariably the one above mentioned. This custom, as far as I know, was discontinued prior to 1750. This Mrs. Boothby was three times made a widow. She was also the widow of the noted Colonel Nathaniel Utie, of Lord Baltimore's Provincial Council, who was sent

by Calvert to demand the allegiance of the Dutch at New Amstel (New Castle), Delaware.

J. S. H.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

WHERE WAS WASHINGTON? [xvi., 199] —At the time of the receipt by him of General Anthony Wayne's dispatch, announcing his success at Stony Point, Washington was at New Windsor, where he had been for some days. In Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. VI., page 297, may be found Washington's letter to the President of Congress, transmitting General Wayne's dispatch, dated "New Windsor, half-past 9 o'clock, 16 July, 1779." By the way, the "laconic and modest dispatch," as given by R. W. Judson, differs somewhat from the copy given in fac-simile by Lossing, in his *Field Book of the American Revolution*.

WILLIAM HARDEN

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

WHERE WAS WASHINGTON? [xvi., 199]—*Sparks* gives a slightly different version of Wayne's letter, as follows, dated 16 July, 1779:

"Dear General,

The fort and garrison, with Colonel Johnson, are ours. Our officers and men behaved like men who are determined to be free.

Yours, most sincerely

Anthony Wayne."

Washington received Wayne's note at New Windsor, as will be seen by his letter to the President of Congress dated "New Windsor, half-past 9 o'clock, 16 July, 1779."

I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PENNSYLVANIA.

BOOK NOTICES

JUDGE RICHARD REID. A Biography.
By ELIZABETH JAMESON REID. 8vo, pp. 584.
Cincinnati, 1886: Standard Publishing Com-
pany.

The eminent legal abilities and high Christian character of Richard Reid render this memorial volume one of exceptional interest. His life was quiet and uneventful, and but for the storm and tragedy in which it ended, would probably never have been known to the world at large. He was born in Montgomery County, Kentucky, October 3, 1838, received a good education, and became an industrious and successful lawyer, and then a judge of the Superior Court of the State. His career on the bench was honorable, and at the time of his tragic death he was a candidate for the Court of Appeals, with the prospect of an election by a large majority. Mrs. Reid has sketched his life from the domestic standpoint, and rarely have we met with a more irreproachable, genial, refined, generous-hearted, and lovable Christian character than that of Judge Reid as presented in these pages. His intellectual life stands out prominently also. He was a scholar as well as a gentleman. He had no differences with his fellow-citizens, and was not aware that he had an enemy in the world who could possibly make him the victim of an atrocious outrage. The whole story impresses us with the singularly barbarous condition of Kentucky. In the spring of 1834, a lawyer named Cornelison, whose professional practices had been denounced in an opinion of the Superior Court—an opinion in which, as it happened, Judge Reid had taken no part— inveigled the judge into his (Cornelison's) office, and there beat him on the back of the head with a hickory stick while he was examining some papers, striking him insensible at the first blow, and then inflicting forty or fifty more blows. When Judge Reid recovered in part from his injuries, he found that he was expected by the community to go out and kill his treacherous assailant. But his Christian principles would not permit of his taking the law in his own hands. And because an upright judge and a high-minded citizen did not choose to go out into the streets and commit murder, public sentiment in that remarkable civilization declared him unfit to be a judge! His failure to retaliate in kind was used against him in his canvass for the Court of Appeals! His dignified speeches and a admirable bearing, however, soon aroused a counter sentiment in his behalf, and his election seemed assured, when, to the horror of every one, he was found dead one afternoon in the law office of a friend. The coroner's jury, upon very slight evidence, returned a verdict of sui-

cide; but the family do not think his life was taken by his own hand. Cornelison was indicted for assault, found guilty, and sentenced for three years; but the case was appealed on a point of law, and when this book was written no final decision had been reached. It is a work of touching interest, and furnishes a lesson of high moral courage that will bear the closest study.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA. Its Mountains, Valleys, and Streams. Its Animals, Birds, and Fishes. By THEODORE S. VAN DYKE. 12mo, pp. 233. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert.

To sportsmen, Mr. Van Dyke is well known by "The Still Hunter" and "The Rifle, Rod, and Gun in California." The present volume is somewhat larger than either of its predecessors, and more entertaining to the general reader. It deals with that wonderful tract of country over a large portion of which one may look from the peak of the San Bernardino Mountains, the eye ranging nearly a hundred and fifty miles in either direction, and taking in all extremes of fertility and barrenness from the great Colorado and Mojave Deserts to the blue Pacific on the west. This is the paradise of the hunter and camper-out. A climate where for months one may sleep in the open air with absolute certainty of fair weather, where one may find game in abundance, and streams where trout lie in the shadows that have never seen an artificial fly. The first chapters are devoted to the scenery, the seasons, the rain belts, and the climate generally. Then follow observations on the inhabitants, birds, beasts, and fishes, and the different modes of their pursuit and capture. In the concluding chapter the author endeavors, apparently in good faith—which is remarkable for a Californian—to point out the faults of this paradise. This is noteworthy as a sign of progress in the history of authorship on the Pacific coast. It must be admitted that he does not make out a very strong case, but for that the country is responsible, not the author. "Year after year," he says, "an affection that you cannot and would not resist winds itself more closely around your soul. . . . There are so few breaks or jars in the train of comfort as the long line of cloudless days rolls on, appetite and sleep hang around you so wooingly in the constant out-of-door life, that you are enthralled before you know it." Such is the conclusion of the chapter on "Drawbacks." The book contains a vast amount of information, and it is certainly written by one who knows, and in a style as admirable as it is

entertaining. We turn the last page and ponder the possibilities of even camping in that happy land where nervous exhaustion is unknown.

KIDNAPPED. Being memoirs of the Adventures of David Balfour, in the year 1751; written by himself and now set forth by ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. 12mo, pp. 324. New York, 1886: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This story is of the last century, and the scéne where the hero was kidnapped is Scotland. David Balfour took the key for the last time from the door of his father's house in the month of June, 1751, and went forth into the world to make his fortune. He was sixteen years of age, the son of a poor country dominie, and his father and his mother were dead. He carried a letter of introduction to a miserly old uncle, whose acquaintance the reader makes about as readily and unfavorably as the forlorn lad himself. The description of Ebenezer Balfour of Shaws, is humorous portraiture of the richest and most readable kind. Wishing to get rid of this newly found nephew, the wicked old wretch of an uncle caused him to be kidnapped and removed from his sight forevermore, as he supposed, by the brig *Covenant*. The story, henceforward, is one of exciting adventure and perpetual action. The boy is cast away and suffers all sorts of terrible things upon a desert isle—lives on raw shell-fish for several days, and escapes after a long and wearisome flight through a wild country. The narrative is crowded with surprises and striking episodes. The interest never flags from the first page to the last. It is a book that will interest boys of any age, and of almost any mood. Mr. Stevenson is one of the most delightful of living authors for this class of books, telling his stories in a clear, flowing, crisp style that carries the reader forward whether he will or no. Most of the characters and incidents are the author's own creation, and they are of the most original and entertaining character.

AN AMERICAN FOUR-IN-HAND IN BRITAIN. By ANDREW CARNEGIE. 16mo, paper, pp. 192. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Mr. Carnegie, since the appearance of his first edition of the book before us, has achieved a more lasting literary fame through his "Triumphant Democracy," and a popular edition of the "Four-in-Hand" is timely, and the new venture should receive a fitting welcome. The author's unpretentious and captivating narrative of his drive of 831 miles from Brighton to Inverness loses nothing by its paper covers and its lack of elaborate book-maker's art.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Embracing the third and fourth Biennial Reports. 1883-1885, vol. iii. 8vo, pp. 519. Topeka, 1886: Kansas Publishing House, T. D. Thatcher, State Printer.

This volume includes a large fund of material relating to the early history of Kansas, of which are the earliest official documentary records of Kansas Territory. It also contains brief biographical sketches of Governors Reeder and Shannon; with extracts from Governor Reeder's diary, giving an account of his escape from Kansas through Missouri, in disguise, in May, 1856; and the addresses delivered by Governors Stanton and Denver, at Bismarck Grove, in 1884. A part of the volume is devoted to the biennial reports of the Society, making permanent record of the Society's work during a period of four years, showing the growth of its library and the character of its accessions of every kind. These reports contain the essential facts of the newspaper history of the State during that period. The volume has an index of forty-nine double-column pages of closely printed matter, in which every fact and name contained in the book is pointed out. Thus the book as a work of historical reference is remarkably complete.

THE CRUISE OF THE ALABAMA. By one of the crew. The Riverside Paper Series, 16mo, pp. 150. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The "Mercator" maps of the world, traversed as to its navigable portion by a red line, is not a particularly pleasant object of contemplation for an American of northern birth, however it may seem to the eyes of Southerners. But the context is very readable—a sailor's story told in sailor language and from the sailor's stand-point. The author, as the publishers' announcement informs us, is Mr. P. D. Haywood, and the substance of the book simply an expansion of the paper that appeared in the "Century" magazine. It lacks, of course, the fine illustrations that lent a picturesque interest to the original paper, but the narrative bears expansion well, and while it is not, as has been intimated, altogether pleasant reading for a Northerner, there are certain passages where the most exacting patriot may feel a pardonable thrill of pride. Such, for, instance, is the chapter where the *Alabama* gives chase to a fine American clipper, whose captain sets everything that his ship can carry, and holds his own against the steam and canvas combined of his pursuer. The gunner—who, by the way, is the author—is ordered to give the bow-gun its greatest elevation, but he, with a touch of admiration, manages to let the

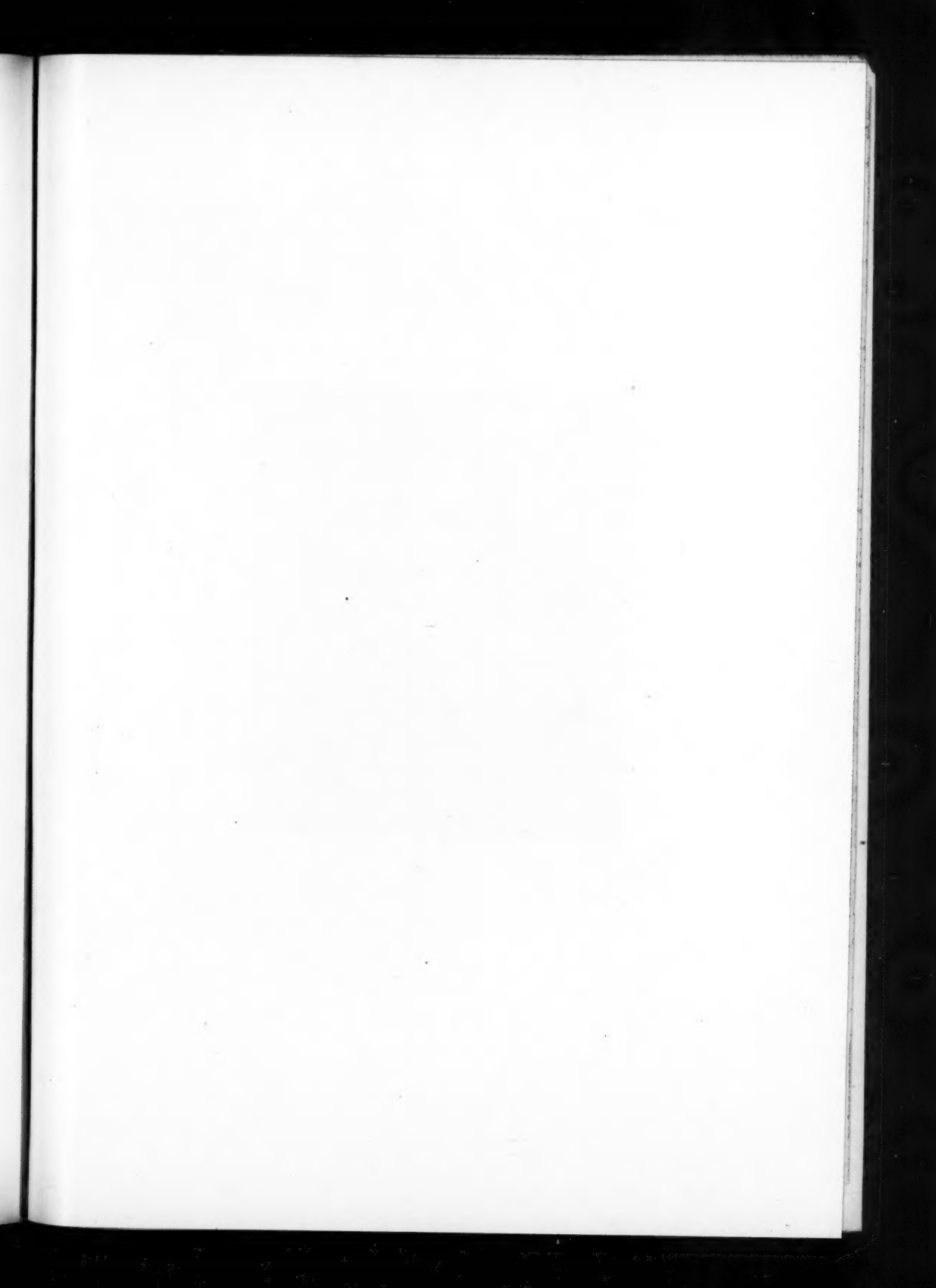
shot fall short and takes his punishment like a man for disobeying orders. The closing fight with the *Kearsage* is described with a touch of contempt for English sympathizers that is at least gratifying, while he does not attempt to conceal his admiration for the handsome and sailor-like way in which the victors achieved the final destruction of the famous Confederate ship.

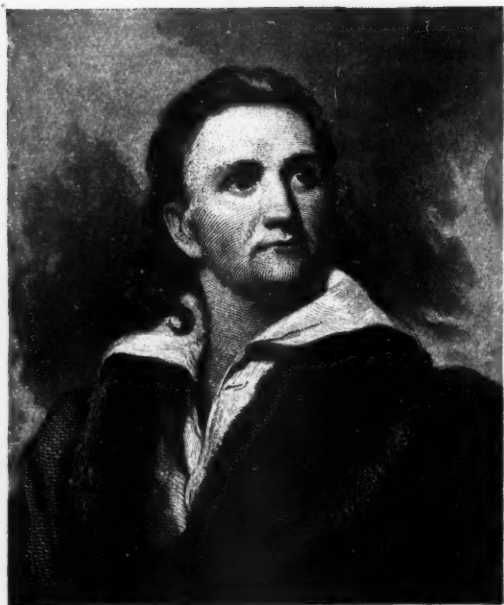
THE OLDEN TIME SERIES. Gleanings chiefly from old newspapers in Boston and Salem, Massachusetts. Part Four. Quaint and curious advertisements. Selected and arranged by HENRY M. BROOKS. 16mo, pp. 153. Boston, 1886: Ticknor & Co.

These quaint and unique advertisements, so skillfully presented in the little volume before us, give a better insight into the customs and manner of living a century ago than scores of volumes of fine writing without such aids. These reveal what men and women thought and desired, what they bought and what they sold, what they wore, how they treated each other, and their progress in knowledge and refinement. The author has made his selections with great tact and discrimination. He tells us how Dr. Greenwood, of Boston, in 1788, offered his services "to give a youthful air to the countenance," and was ready to "electrize" any persons who stood "in need of that almost universal remedy." This same Isaac Greenwood was a dentist—perhaps a relative of John Greenwood, Washington's dentist—and sold umbrellas, attending to both branches of business under one roof. In 1805, we notice that Salem was the scene of a curious exhibition of "wax-work" figures. Then, again, "Mistress Sarah Brooks advertises her husband and refuses to pay his debts." And furthermore, six gentlemen advertise in the *Salem Gazette*, under date of May 17, 1791, for hostile Indian scalps, offering "to pay one hundred dollars for every one with both ears to it" which may be taken between that date and the 15th day of the following June. The little book is a treasure of curiosities.

PRYTANEUM BOSTONIENSE. NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE OLD STATE HOUSE, formerly known as THE TOWN HOUSE IN BOSTON—THE COURT HOUSE IN BOSTON—THE PROVINCE COURT HOUSE—THE STATE HOUSE—AND THE CITY HALL. Second Paper. By GEORGE H. MOORE, LL.D. Paper read before the Bostonian Society, February 9, 1886. Pamphlet, 8vo, pp. 31. Boston, 1855: Cupples, Upham & Co.

Dr. Moore has written a second delightful paper on the subject of the Old State House in Boston, which is more interesting, if possible, than the first paper, issued some months ago. He brings Washington before the reader in a graphic description of some of the features of a memorable occasion when our first President was entertained at Boston in 1789. The author says in this connection: "What would have been the value to New York in 1861—on the day after the firing on Fort Sumter—of the old City Hall in Wall Street, where the speakers who gave voice to the indignation of the whole people on that occasion might have stood in the very place where Washington in 1789 took the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, as the first President, and the flag of the Union was first displayed as the symbol of its authority?" Dr. Moore gives some pleasant pictures of Dr. Franklin, Lafayette, and a host of other worthies who were associated with the picturesque old building. "The most fruitful theme for study," he says, "in connection with the history of the Old State House, is to be found in the work which was done here by the men who occupied it as legislators." He believes that "Massachusetts has given the law to the United States more literally than either her friends have ever cared to claim, or her enemies would be willing to acknowledge; and the diligent student of legal antiquities may recognize in her earliest codes principles of reformation which have since pervaded the whole realm of English law." The work has a valuable appendix of some forty pages, and is altogether a very choice contribution to the historic literature of the country.





John L. Audubon

[From the painting by Henry Inman.]

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A KING'S GIFT

FRANCE, tired of Louisiana, had just given her to Spain. In October, 1764, Governor D'Abbadie, of Louisiana, had made public, for the first time, the letter of Louis XV. announcing that his Most Christian Majesty had, of his own free will, ceded to his dearly beloved cousin, the King of Spain, and "to his successors and heirs, in full property, completely and without reserve or restriction, all the country known under the name of Louisiana, and also New Orleans and the island in which it is situated."

Since the first survey, in 1718, of the site now New Orleans, a war of races had given way to a rivalry of kings. A subtle essence of the long continental quarrel had come from across-sea to enter into the colonial anxieties, and to sharpen them. England, by the same treaty which ceded Louisiana, had gained the right to establish a port at Manchac, the head of the island on which New Orleans is situated, and was sure to use it. Louisiana, in spite of her fertility of soil and the marked favor of a speculating Versailles, had, curiously enough, never proved so productive as her sister colonies of the sea. While St. Domingo, Martinique, Guadeloupe, and St. Lucie were pouring out an unstinted tribute in coffee, sugar, cotton, tobacco, and cacao into the royal treasury, Louisiana had been holding out the hand which begs, not that which gives. From her very cradle she had fallen under the malefic spell of John Law—a spell from which, up to 1762, she had not recovered. Law, tempter of princes and debaucher of colonies, had begun by being practical. Through Bienville, he had founded New Orleans; and had formed settlements, destined to last, at Natchez, Baton Rouge, and Pointe Coupée. This had been the flow of a Pactolian tide—the ebb was to come too soon. Paris, drunk with golden fumes, cried out to New France that she had found an "Angel of Finance" in her "Monsieur Lass." But New France, without resources save those she could borrow, was too wretched to catch up the cry and send it back to Paris transmuted into the precious metal. A feverish period followed, more virulent in Paris than in the colony. Then came, July 23, 1721, an awful crash—the collapse of the "Great Mississippi Bubble." John